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## Tallis' Lamentations and the English Cadence

BY

JACK PILGRIM

THE striking originality of Tallis' two settings of verses from the "Lamentations of Jeremiah the Prophet"<sup>1</sup> has been commented upon by most writers on sixteenth-century English music. The vocal score,<sup>2</sup> in a modern edition, has been obtainable for some years and the work has received numerous performances from the BBC in recent times. We have had ample opportunity, therefore, to assess its merits for ourselves and now that two LP discs of these "Lamentations" have been issued,<sup>3</sup> we can study the work at much closer quarters than ever before. It is not the purpose of this article to review the two discs mentioned above, but in all fairness it must be said that neither is quite adequate, as the Deller record, although impeccably sung, seems to lack that "body" of sound that only a larger group of singers can give, and the Desoff choir shows such an absence of understanding of the text that its unrelieved *forte* singing becomes wearisome. In spite of these drawbacks, the records available will enable us to examine more easily some general and some specific points of interest. Incidentally, it is as well to note that the musical text of the "Lamentations" as published and as recorded is not identical, since transposition and editorial divergences of opinion have led to some discrepancies.

The "Lamentations of Jeremiah" was apparently a fairly popular text for sixteenth-century composers. Palestrina composed numerous sets and there are settings of portions of the four chapters by Byrd, White and Parsley (in addition to those of Tallis) in the ten volumes of Tudor Church Music published by the Carnegie Trust. Since that time it appears to have been somewhat neglected until more recent times when Ginastera and Stravinsky have drawn upon it for their compositions.

The principal structural feature of Tallis' "Lamentations" is that each verse of the Latin text is prefaced by a *melisma* on the appropriate letter of the Hebrew alphabet, so that verse one is introduced by "Aleph", verse two by "Beth" and so on. Each of the two parts of the "Lamentations" ends with the verse "*Jerusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum*" ("Jerusalem, turn again to the Lord thy God").

Tallis shows in these "Lamentations" that he is complete master of his technique. There are few examples of the archaisms (such as the introduction of a rest into the music set to one syllable) which were common enough in Taverner's time and which are found in the early motets of Tallis himself, and several writers have singled out the wonderful grasp of tonality in the first

<sup>1</sup> Ch. i. vv. 1-2, 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> O.U.P., T.C.M. Series No. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Vanguard PVL 7072 and a "Classics Club" issue.

"Lamentation" which takes us from A minor through F to D minor, and then at "Beth" switches the key from F to B flat by a magical twist at the final cadence, continuing to touch E flat in one of the most poignant passages in the whole of sixteenth-century music at the words "*Plorans ploravit in nocte . . .*" ("She weepeth sore in the night . . ."). This represents, in modern terms, an excursion from A minor to E flat major—chords which are as far removed from each other as could be—and shows an astonishing feeling for tonality for this period. There are many other points of interest: the miniature fugue on "*De lamentatione Jeremiae*" which opens part two; the fine accented passing notes and harmonies of "Gimel"; and the setting of "Daleth" which is a canon between the two upper and two lower voices with a free fifth part—the tenor—binding the whole fabric together. But the most striking feature of all must surely be the abundance and variety of examples of what is known loosely as the "English Cadence". It is as well to point out that this progression is not restricted to final cadences and, in fact, is one which pervades the whole of the "Lamentations". It appears in several different forms and the peculiar use of the suspension in this particular cadence raises an important harmonic issue to which the main substance of this article is devoted.

The evolution of the suspended discord in the sixteenth century is a topic which will still bear a great deal of investigation. Jeppesen, in his book,<sup>4</sup> has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of it by analyzing some of the special features of Palestrina's counterpoint, but apart from some general remarks by Morris<sup>5</sup> and sundry chapters here and there, little is available to show what a grasp Palestrina's English contemporaries had of their materials.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty of sixteenth-century music is that of reconciling the horizontal and vertical demands of the music. Jeppesen says: "Although the harmonic element also claimed its rights, which were often granted to a remarkable degree, the chief aim was the melodic beauty of the individual parts. In situations where the vertical control of the horizontal caused difficulties, the occasion was often unscrupulously utilized to promote the freest possible development of melody".<sup>6</sup> In this light, the more closely the suspension in the "English Cadence" is examined, the more apparent does it become that the harmonic demands are often very severe; so much so that they force the ear to accept progressions which may seem quite illogical, and, judging from the variety of explanations and "rules" offered in text-books on contrapuntal technique, it seems that few writers are willing to acknowledge the gradual change in attitude towards, and consequent treatment of the suspension which formed such an important means of artistic expression in the music of the sixteenth century.

The prepared discord—as opposed to the passing or unprepared discord—must be thought of as being one of the fundamental precepts of composition, but the ideas which accounted for its origin underwent so much development that the true nature of the suspension was in danger of being forgotten, as

<sup>4</sup> *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance.*

<sup>5</sup> *Contrapuntal Technique.*

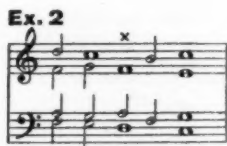
<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.* p. 178.



further consideration of examples of the "English Cadence" will show. It is commonly assumed that the suspension had its origin in the holding back (accidentally or deliberately) of a note of a concord in such a way as to form a discord on a relatively strong accent: this was followed by the catching-up process at the next beat where concord was restored as a result of the part or parts which had moved on ahead now waiting for the retarded part to arrive. Ex. 1a is, then, only a decorated form of Ex. 1b.



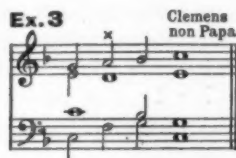
To the ear, there is in the first example a simple melodic conflict between the upper and lower parts which is correctly prepared and resolved: this is the suspension in its primary state. Ex. 2 shows another commonplace idiom of the sixteenth century which is more complex as the ear recognizes a double conflict—one melodic and one harmonic:



there is on the one hand the dissonant melodic interval of a seventh between the outer parts and on the other a harmonic combination of four different notes which must of necessity sound different from the rather plain fare of the triad. The prime object of a suspension is to draw attention to itself and the success of the effect of Ex. 2 is due to the fact that not only is there a fuller chord present at the moment of percussion but that there is an additional realization—albeit a subconscious one—that this chord precludes the correct resolution of the melodic tension until the A of the tenor voice has been removed. The suspension has now entered its first stage of development, for whereas it is still melodically a true suspension, it can no longer be regarded in quite the same light harmonically since it is accompanied by a chord to which the ultimate note of resolution cannot possibly belong at this stage. The note C in the treble is not, strictly speaking, a *retarded* part of the chord which accompanies it but an *essential* part of it, thereby enriching the harmonic vocabulary of the time by a normal chord of the seventh. This basic modification now prepares the way for a number of developments of which Ex. 3 is readily accounted for as a derivation of Ex. 2, and Ex. 4 seems to suggest that the emancipation of the first inversion of the seventh chord (which was to be complete not so very much later) had already been accomplished.

The so-called "English Cadence" is a particularly interesting offshoot of a further extension of the principle begun in Ex. 2, *viz.* that of sounding a suspension together with its note of resolution. Whatever text-books may try to

teach us, it is more than obvious from the dozens of examples to be found in the works of sixteenth-century composers that suspensions *were* widely used with the note of resolution occurring in a part other than the bass—and often



with great effect. Morris<sup>7</sup> says that the primary requirements of this type of progression (in Palestrina-style counterpoint) are "conjunct and contrary motion", but with the "English Cadence" this was far from being so in many cases. English composers, in fact, seemed to have been a law unto themselves but their experiments have had such far-reaching effects on succeeding generations that the originality of certain aspects of their writing is not to be glossed over lightly.

It is perhaps in the work of Tallis, as seen in the "Lamentations" especially, that the greatest flexibility of the "English Cadence" is to be perceived. What later became a stereotyped formula, was in his hands a thing of great beauty and diversity. Ex. 5 shows it in its simplest and most characteristic form:



Again there seems to be a dual conflict between the melodic urge of the suspension to attain its note of resolution and the harmonic desire of the composer to produce a complete chord at the same time, irrespective of the fact that the suspension is still being held. In the various forms of the "English Cadence" this conflict is progressively intensified and as the individual voices remain often aggressively independent, some extremely dissonant harmonies result.

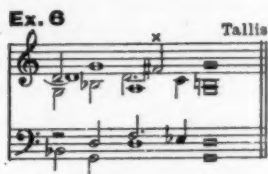
The origins of this type of cadence are obscure: there is evidence that Josquin des Prés used a similar construction in his *chanson*, "*Faulte d'argent*"<sup>8</sup> and the complete cadence was known to Taverner according to Morley,<sup>9</sup> but it must have been simply the latent desire to include the third of the chord—a harmonic impulse—which led to the emergence of this type of cadence. The feature which lends added colour to it is the close proximity of the major and minor third and whereas in Ex. 5 the one is merely played off against the other,

<sup>7</sup> *op. cit.* p. 40 (m).

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in W. Apel's *Historical Anthology*, Vol. 1, p. 94 (1952).

<sup>9</sup> *cf. Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Music*, p. 259.

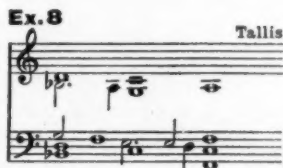
in Ex. 6, the tenor, having the minor third of the chord, is allowed to proceed on its way in its own time, even after the resolution of the suspension on the major third:



The effectiveness lies in the heightening of the relief at the *final* chord: the emphasis has moved on from the immediate point of resolution of the suspension so that instead of a discord being resolved on to a concord, it is now resolved on to a harsher discord and consequently the fundamental conception of the suspension seems to be in jeopardy through this encroachment of the vertical element. Yet this was no mere accident, to be explained away as so many writers have done, as an example of "virile" or even "barbarous" counterpoint which would be better ignored. It was the logical development from the idea of Ex. 2 and was so firmly established in Tallis' style that he could even introduce the dissonant minor interval, without preparation, in a point of imitation:



We draw the inevitable conclusion that what was originally introduced as a temporary measure has now acquired an existence of its own and so the foreign harmony which was an *incidental* feature of Ex. 2 has now become an *essential* feature of Ex. 6 and 7. The "English Cadence" exists, too, in a major form which although being less harsh owing to the absence of the conflict between the major and minor third, is nonetheless quite pungent:



This effect, observed in Palestrina, is usually mitigated, as Morris suggests, by the third passing upwards instead of downwards as here.

On the whole, the "English Cadence" became so familiar that Morley<sup>10</sup> speaks of it almost with disdain although he himself was not above employing it. Indeed, it persisted well into the seventeenth century (examples are not hard to find in the works of Purcell and his contemporaries) and Bairstow quotes an even later one by S. S. Wesley in his book on counterpoint. In its more astringent forms, it seems almost entirely absent from the works of most continental composers although Jeppesen<sup>11</sup> quotes an interesting example which is closely allied to the form of the "English Cadence" as shown in Ex. 8, from Palestrina's Mass, "*O admirabile commercium*".

The fact that this type of cadence is known as the "English" may be due in part to the rugged, angular style of counterpoint which developed in England and included many melodic and harmonic points of interest which have at times been needlessly dismissed as "crudities".

The "English Cadence" is only one facet of the problem of dissonance in English counterpoint of the sixteenth century, and it will only be when we have a counterpart of Jeppesen's work devoted to the English style that we shall really understand and appreciate Tallis' contribution to sixteenth-century technique.

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<sup>10</sup> *op. cit.* p. 259.

<sup>11</sup> *op. cit.* p. 177.

## *Concerning the Watermarks in the Manuscripts and early Prints of G. F. Handel*

BY

FREDERICK HUDSON

SCIENTIFIC research concerning music manuscripts is not much older than the present century. It developed side by side with an awakening interest in and appreciation of the musical instruments of former periods and the styles of composition and performance associated with them: it is bound up with a desire to regain a true picture of the composer's intentions and contemporary performing conditions. Such ideals were not appreciated during the nineteenth century: for example, the old Bach-Gesellschaft and Handel-Gesellschaft editions of the respective composer's complete works were published (roughly-1850-1900) with the instruments and performing conditions of the mid-nineteenth century in the minds of the editors concerned. Though these editions have stood for a hundred years as authoritative monuments of the works of Bach and Handel, yet research during the past few decades has shown them to be deficient in many respects: in the case of the old Handel edition, not only does the interpretation put upon the manuscript sources leave much to be desired but in very many works the editor has regarded contemporary performing copies as being more authoritative than the autograph manuscripts. The present day revaluation of music composed before 1800 or thereabouts is responsible for an unparalleled activity in this field and music scholars the world over are engaged in scientific investigation, the results of which are being made available in a series of complete editions of the respective composer's works, each volume usually being accompanied by a separate critical report of the editor's findings. The list is long and includes such composers as Purcell, Bach, Handel, Haydn and Mozart.

The handwriting and the actual text of a music manuscript are obviously the factors to be considered first. With autographs the style of the handwriting often changes with the passage of years and by comparison with other autographs the period of composition may be fixed. A certain untidiness in the writing or evidence of alteration or erasure may give the impression of an original composition composed on the paper under examination, or a neatly written manuscript without any evidence of second thoughts may suggest that it is a copy or a reworking: here a comparison with other variants or "readings" of the text may help towards a conclusion. In the case of a non-autograph manuscript (*i.e.* one written by a copyist) the identification of the copyist's handwriting and a comparison of the music text are of great assistance. When the foregoing evidence is coupled with evidence to be drawn from the paper and watermarks of the manuscript, the music scholar frequently finds a large



measure of agreement and is able to reach a conclusion concerning the date. These remarks apply, of course, to manuscripts which are unsigned or undated or both.

In attempting to reach conclusions from the evidence of watermarks, the scholar is greatly handicapped when either a watermark catalogue of his composer, or a very large collection of watermarks of the period is not available or not in existence. Such a catalogue for the works of J. S. Bach has, in fact, been prepared<sup>1</sup> and is of great value to those editors concerned with the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately no such catalogue exists for the works of Bach's great contemporary, George Frideric Handel (1685-1759), and one of the objects of writing the present article is to bring this fact to general notice. Handel settled in England from 1712 and became a naturalized British subject in 1726. He was a prolific composer and, fortunately for us, took uncommonly good care of his manuscripts. In addition to the bulk of his autographs, we have extant a great series of manuscript copies in the hands of J. C. Smith the elder (his principal amanuensis) and about a dozen additional copyists, prepared as performing copies or as presentation copies for the private libraries of Handel's aristocratic friends. Approximately 95 per cent. of this rich collection is preserved in English libraries, the main part of the remainder (Smith copies formerly in the possession of Victor Schoelcher) in the Hamburg University and State Library. The Royal Music Library, British Museum, houses nearly all the autographs and many of the copies: other important collections are preserved in the Department of Manuscripts at the Museum, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in St. Michael's College, Tenbury Wells and in the private library of the Earl of Malmesbury.<sup>3</sup>

The present writer has recently completed an investigation lasting several years concerning the source material and history of Handel's *opus* 3, a set of six Concerti Grossi known in England for the past 200 years as his "Oboe Concertos" because of the inclusion of this instrument in each Concerto: the results of this research will be published shortly as a music volume in full-score and a separate critical report within the *Hallsche Händel-Ausgabe* series of the complete works.<sup>4</sup> Briefly, the source material can be divided into three main groups as follows, (a) the original manuscripts, consisting of the autograph of the first movement of Concerto VI and five contemporary manuscripts in the hands of various copyists closely associated with Handel, (b) the series of original prints by John Walsh, Handel's main publisher, and (c) a series of some sixty second-stream manuscripts of works or movements which Handel

<sup>1</sup> "Papier und Wasserzeichen der Notenhandschriften von Johann Sebastian Bach" by Dr. Wisso Weiss. This was completed several years ago but is still in manuscript at the present time. It will eventually be published in connection with the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* series of complete works.

<sup>2</sup> Published under the auspices of the Bach Institute, Göttingen, and the Bach Archives, Leipzig, 1954 ff.: 10 volumes have appeared so far, each accompanied by a separate critical report.

<sup>3</sup> A source list of Handel's works, prepared by W. C. Smith, is printed as an appendix to *Handel: A Symposium*, edited by Gerald Abraham, London 1954. A German translation appeared in the *Händel-Jahrbuch*, 1956.

<sup>4</sup> *Hallsche Händel-Ausgabe (Kritische Gesamtausgabe)* published under the auspices of the Georg-Friedrich-Händel-Gesellschaft (Halle), by Deutscher Verlag für Musik, Leipzig and Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel, 1955 ff.

borrowed or reworked for use in *opus* 3—it was necessary to seek guidance from this stream for certain movements where the text of the source material in the first two groups was faulty. The writer does not claim to be an expert on watermarks: the reverse is true, but a growing realization of the additional information which may be gleaned from the watermarks present in the manuscripts and prints under examination has led him to a study of the literature on this subject which has proved of great value. Tracings were made of all the watermarks in the manuscripts and prints in groups (a) and (b), actual size illustrations of which accompany the present article. Apart from MS. A no autograph manuscripts for *opus* 3 are extant: of the 23 movements in the six Concertos, MS. A provides only one, thus almost the whole of *opus* 3 depends for its authenticity upon the work of copyists (MSS. B–F) and the series of Walsh prints. In addition to a detailed comparison of the texts of these sources, it was therefore desirable to discover as much as possible about the copyists, their relationship to Handel and a possible period when each manuscript was copied. Thanks to the researches of Professor Jens Peter Larsen, University of Copenhagen, recently published,<sup>5</sup> we have invaluable information concerning Handel's copyists: this includes the identification of their handwriting, the codification as copyist "S 1", "S 2", "S 3", etc., and the period over which each worked as a copyist of Handel manuscripts. The present writer hoped that it would be possible to isolate the watermarks in the manuscripts of *opus* 3 into periods of currency more limited than those when the copyists were active.

Though the volume by W. A. Churchill<sup>6</sup> was consulted, the most useful bibliographical sources were undoubtedly the writings of the late Edward Heawood. These are listed below for purposes of reference, and also because further research into the subject of watermarks in Handelian manuscripts will need to take them into consideration.

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|-------------------|--|
| 1930              | "Sources of Early English Paper-supply", <i>The Library</i> ( <i>Transactions of the Bibliographical Society</i> ), series 4, Vol. X, London 1930, pp. 282 ff., 427 ff.  |
| 1931              | "Papers used in England after 1600", <i>idem</i> , series 4, Vol. XI, London 1931, pp. 263 ff., 466 ff.  |
| 1948              | "Further Notes on Paper used in England after 1600", <i>idem</i> , series 5, Vol. II, London 1948, p. 119 ff.  |
| Amsterdam<br>1950 | "Historical Review of Watermarks" (reprinted from <i>Dictionary &amp; Encyclopaedia of Paper and Papermaking</i> ), Amsterdam 1950.                                      |
| Hilversum<br>1950 | "Watermarks mainly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" ( <i>Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia</i> , Vol. I), 4080 watermarks, Hilversum 1950. |

<sup>5</sup> *Handel's Messiah, Origins, Composition, Sources*, London 1957. The tables, facsimiles and descriptions contained on pp. 260–323 are of special importance in connection with the subject of the present article.

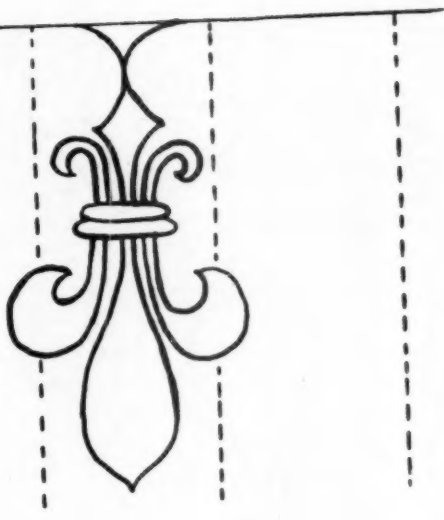
<sup>6</sup> *Watermarks in Paper in the XVII and XVIII Centuries*, 578 watermarks, Amsterdam 1935.

In addition, a volume recently published provides new information which is invaluable for this aspect of Handelian research: this is by Alfred H. Shorter, "Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England 1495-1800" (*Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia*, Vol. VI), 217 watermarks, Hilversum 1957.

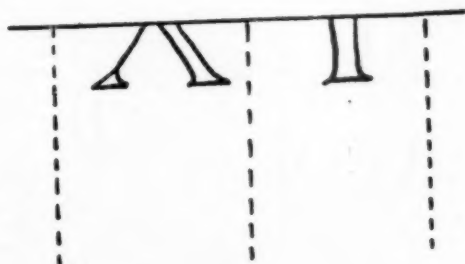
From a study of the above, certain facts emerge which hitherto have not been generally recognized by scholars who seek to date eighteenth-century manuscripts by means of the watermarks. Very many of the marks used by French, Dutch and English paper-makers of this period were hackneyed designs and it is totally inadequate to provide a mere description of the mark and countermark for purposes of reference and comparison. According to C. M. Briquet (*Heawood, Amsterdam 1950*, p. 32; *Hilversum 1950*, p. 31), the probable use of a given watermark of the period up to 1600 was limited to not more than 30 years. As a result of his researches, Heawood (1948, p. 133; *Amsterdam 1950*, p. 32; *Hilversum 1950*, p. 31) states that the "life" of a paper-mould became shorter as paper was more and more used. Paper-makers and merchants would be unlikely to hold stock of any given make for any long period: this is fully borne out by his evidence that at the end of the eighteenth century and early part of the nineteenth century the "life" of a given watermark was surprisingly short—not more than two to three years. From this one might hazard the suggestion that in the mid-eighteenth century the currency of a precise form of watermark (*i.e.* watermarks formed by the same mould) would be limited to not more than five to six years. Another piece of evidence supporting Heawood's conclusion (*Amsterdam 1950*, p. 34) is the very rare occurrence in any large collection of watermarks of duplicates exact in every detail of size and shape. The "life" of a paper-mould must therefore have been much shorter than is generally supposed. Heawood concludes that, if it is true that paper-moulds wore out quickly, as they would especially if used for the sorts of paper in common use, the value for dating purposes of the watermarks they bore would be greatly enhanced. As the wires forming the watermark design were shaped by hand, it is probable that there were as many variants as there were paper-moulds, even though they were intended to represent the same design of the same paper-maker. Such circumstances would apply to two or more moulds being used concurrently at the same mill and to replacements when the moulds wore out. It is therefore of the utmost importance that watermark illustrations should be given in the actual size and proportions found in the paper if comparisons with certified and dated watermarks are to be of any value. From the accompanying illustrations it will be noted that the watermarks in MSS. C and E are identical, as are the size and quality of the papers, and it may be concluded that the paper in each manuscript came from the same mould. Both manuscripts have been written by the same copyist, "S 5", and can be dated within the same limited period. On the other hand, MS. B contains two similar though not identical forms of the same mark. Heawood, 1931, p. 478, states that Lubertus and Lucas van Gerrevink are said to have made paper in Holland before 1700, but it is not until well on in the next century that the initials LVG are commonly met with in place of the earlier WR. For a time these two sets of initials persisted

Ms. A:

ff. 3-4

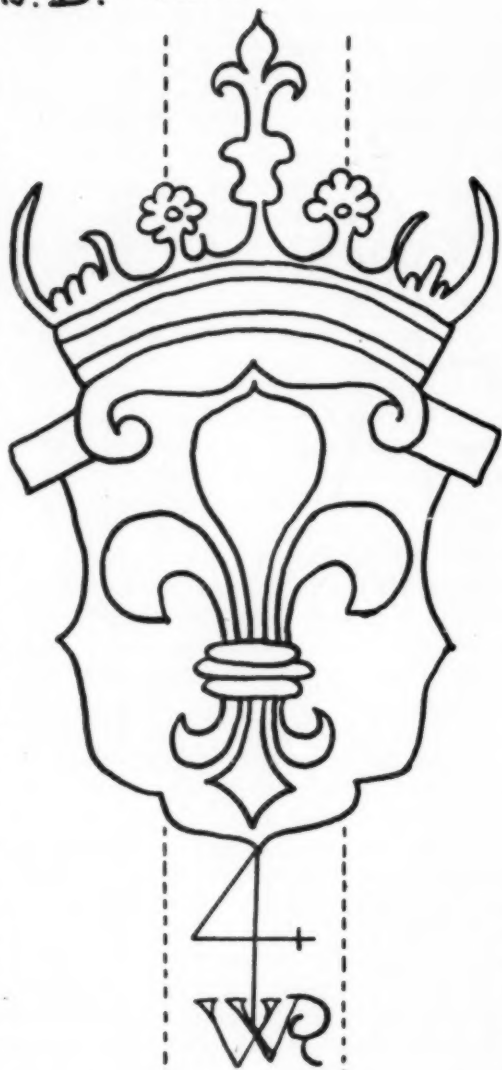


ff. 1-2



Watermarks in Ms. A, actual size.

Ms. B: Form I



I  
VILLEDARY

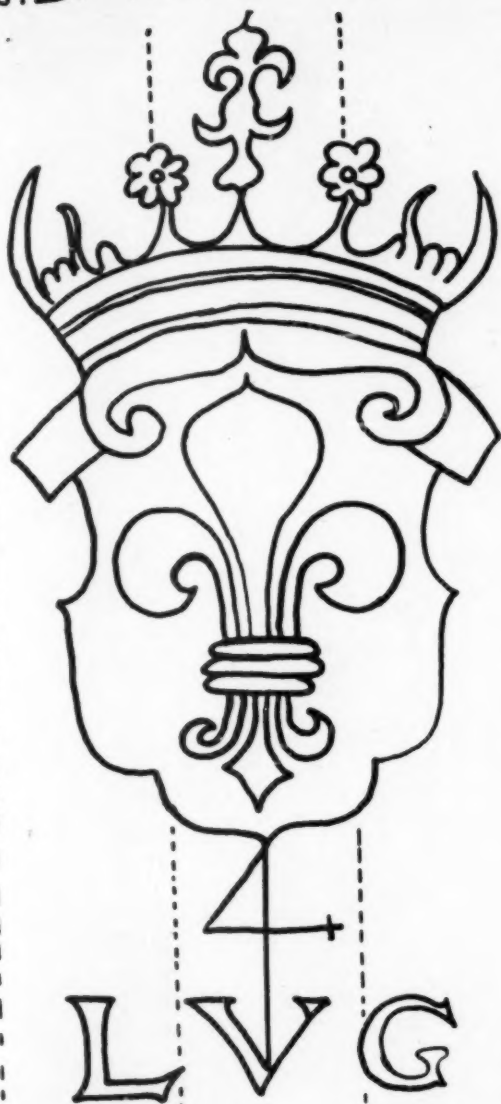
ff. 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19

ff. 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17

Watermarks in Ms. B, Form I, actual size.



Ms. B: Form II



ff. 20, 25, 26, 28, 30.

ff. 21, 23, 24, 27, 29.

IV

I  
VILLEDA  
RY

ff. 15, 22, (31).

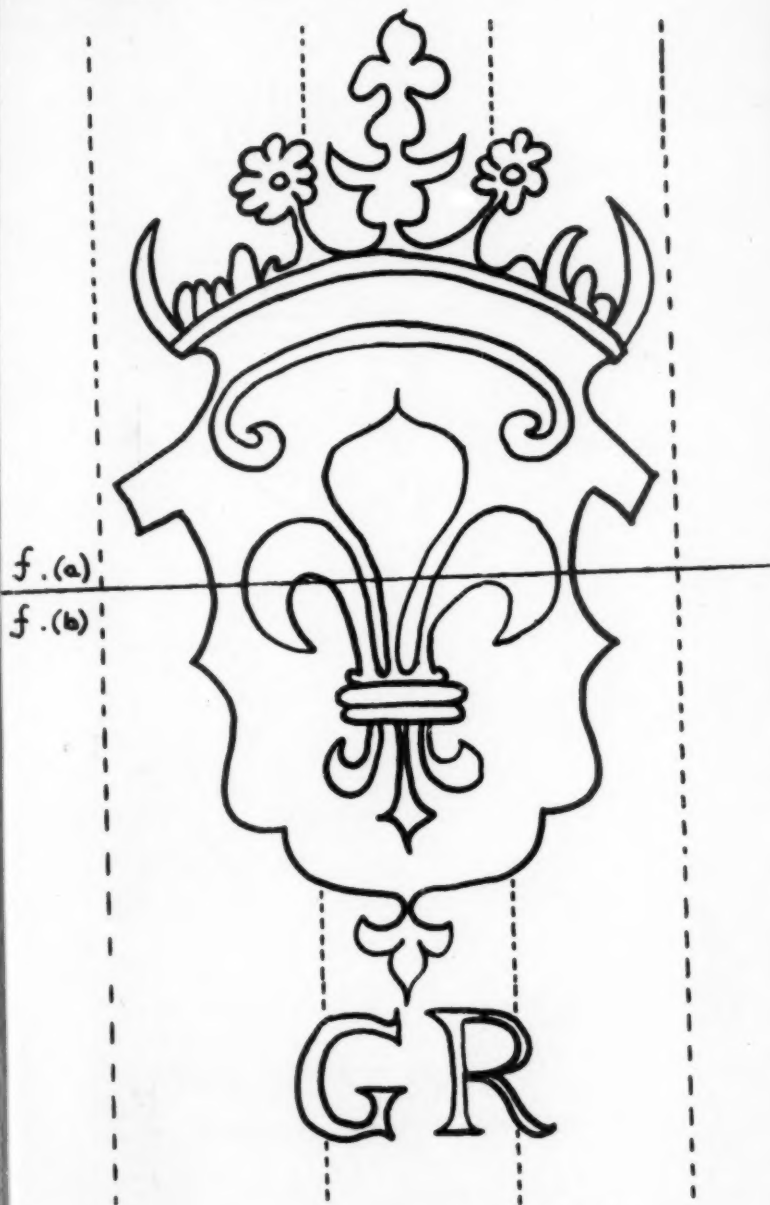
side by side: even then they were mostly associated with the name of I VILLEDARY (or the initials IV), the French paper-maker, who may have been under agreement with Gerrevink to make paper for the Dutch and English markets. The paper seems to have had a great vogue, especially for purposes requiring large size and good quality. It is possible that MS. B was written c. 1750 and it is also possible that Concerto I (folios 20-30) was copied at a slightly later period than Concertos IV and II (folios 3-19).

Though paper-makers and merchants may not have retained stocks bearing identical watermarks for any considerable period, there is always the risk that actual users of the paper may have retained supplies over a much greater period, especially in the case of odd sheets. This risk is smaller in the case of lengthy manuscripts such as MS. C with 56 folios of identical paper than with MS. A which consists of one gathering of two double sheets (= 4 folios). From the watermarks in MS. A it is obvious that the original sheets have been cut in half. Here a dating must be attempted by other means. This manuscript is of a Concerto movement identical with a Concerto movement in Handel's opera *Ottone*, first performed in January, 1723, and revived, with additional arias, in February-March, 1726. The autograph manuscripts of this opera (*R.M.20.b.9* and *10*) do not include this Concerto but folios 83, 85, 91, 93, 97 and 99 of the former contain watermarks identical with what remains of the marks in MS. A and in both the papers are the same. Two conclusions are possible: either that MS. A originally formed part of the imperfect manuscript *R.M.20.b.9* with a dating of 1723, or MS. A was used as a loose insertion in the manuscript for the revival in 1726.

During Handel's early and middle period in England it would appear that he and his copyists used papers originating mainly in France and Holland (though, during his youthful period in Germany and Italy, native papers may have been used). Then, in his later period, there would appear to be a transition when French and Dutch papers were supplemented by supplies made in England. Immediate post-Handelian copies show that papers made in England had almost wholly superseded supplies from abroad. It is here that the great value of Dr. Shorter's volume, quoted above, must be emphasized. Previously music scholars have been under the impression that the great English firm of James Whatman did not produce paper until well into the second half of the eighteenth century and this has led to the dating of manuscripts bearing the watermarks of his name or initials from 1760 or so. We learn from Dr. Shorter, p. 58, that it was the outbreak of war with Spain in 1739 and the consequent interference by enemy action with the importation of supplies which provided the incentive for English manufacturers, and that by the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748 the English manufacturers had so much increased and improved their output that they permanently secured the market.<sup>7</sup> We learn also that James Whatman, tanner, became interested in paper-making as early as 1733 (p. 194), that he married the widow of Richard Harris in 1740 and so became owner of the Turkey Mill, Kent

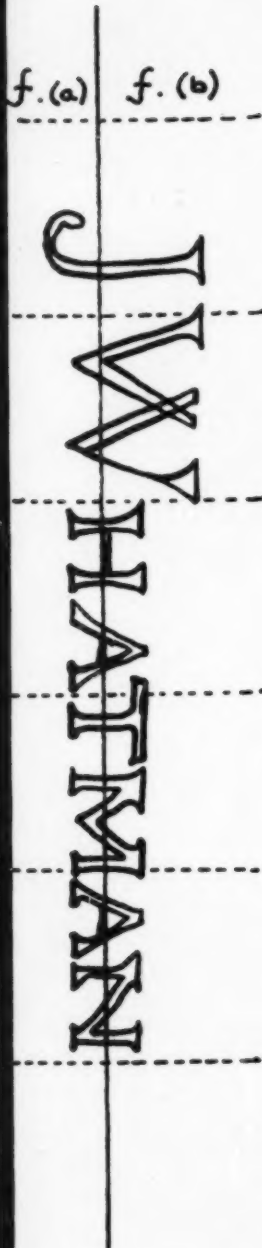
<sup>7</sup> Here Shorter is quoting from an article by T. Balston entitled "James Whatman, Father and Son" in *The Paper Maker*, CXXIX, p. 292, London, 1955.

Mss. C & E :



Watermarks in Mss. C and E, actual size.

Ms.D:



f.(a)  
f.(b)

f.(a)  
f.(b)





in Ms. D, actual size.





(p. 188), that he died in 1759 and his widow carried on the business until 1762 when their son, also James Whatman, took over. Though the whole of this volume could profitably be studied by those interested in Handelian research, the above statements are sufficient to make it clear that manuscripts bearing Whatman watermarks may well be dated at a much earlier period than has hitherto been supposed.

MS. D is dated "c. 1765" in the British Museum catalogue but it may possibly belong to a slightly earlier period. The main watermark was a hackneyed design used by many paper-makers during the first half of the eighteenth century, as was the main mark in MSS. C and E. It appears that this mark was used later in the eighteenth century by James Whatman the younger but usually with the distinguishing ornamental finish to the base of the shield and either the letters GR, as in MS. D, or the cursive monogram JW below (Heawood 1931, p. 472). The countermark TW is found very rarely in Handel manuscripts; apart from MS. D these are *Laudate Pueri* in D and the *Foundling Hospital Anthem* (R.C.M. 248 and R.M. 19.e.8, both in the British Museum). Shorter reproduces this countermark (pp. 268, 386) and suggests that it may be paper made by Thomas Willmott who took possession of the Shoreham Mill, Kent, in 1775. The evidence concerning MS. D is at present inconclusive and it may well be earlier or later than the date suggested in the British Museum catalogue.

MS. F has been written by the same copyist who wrote the manuscripts R.M. 19.e.3 and 9. The first of these is the score of "*Miserere*", which is an adaptation of the second half of the eighteenth century of Handel's *Chandos Anthem* no. 3 with many alterations and interpolations. The second is the score of "*Omnipotence*", an oratorio for which the music was selected from Handel's *Chandos Anthems* by Dr. Samuel Arnold. MS. F and these two manuscripts have been written on the same type of paper bearing the same watermarks: in addition MS. F and "*Omnipotence*" have traces of the mark J WHATMAN in the folds of some of the double folios and "*Omnipotence*" and "*Miserere*" also have the mark W. The British Museum catalogue gives "c. 1774" for "*Omnipotence*": bearing in mind the watermarks and Samuel Arnold's period of activity with Handel pastiches, it is probable that MS. F was written between 1770 and 1775.

The foregoing is merely a summary of avenues explored in a limited field of Handelian research but it is hoped that it may point the way to a complete survey founded on scientific principles of the watermarks in the series of Handelian manuscripts and lead eventually to the compilation of a complete catalogue of watermarks. A closely related investigation carried out by the writer is that of the watermarks in the series of eighteenth-century prints of *opus 3*: as far as is known, this would appear to be a new departure in Handelian research.

At the beginning of this aspect of the investigation the earliest known date of publication was that of an advertisement inserted by John Walsh in the newspaper, *The Country Journal: or, The Craftsman*, 7th December, 1734. After the collation of some half-dozen exemplars of sets of *opus 3* part-books

in the possession of various British libraries, it became apparent that there were considerable differences in that (a) some exemplars were complete in 9 part-books while others were complete in 7, and (b) there were considerable differences in the make-up of the contents and in the pagination of part-books which were outwardly for the same instrument. In order to clarify the position it was resolved to make as complete an investigation as possible of all exemplars of early prints of *opus 3* extant in European and American libraries, the research being limited to issues of Handel's lifetime and which presumably had his authority. Thanks to unstinting co-operation from the librarians concerned and other persons and institutions in possession of early prints<sup>8</sup> a total of 29 sets of part-books was traced and collated. Of these, 14 exemplars have the earliest titlepage of 1734 *ff.* (facsimiles 1 and 2) and the remaining 15 have the new titlepage of c. 1752 (facsimile 3).

In May, 1956, Dr. Hans F. Redlich kindly offered to make a preliminary investigation of the rich collection of Handel prints in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. This resulted in the discovery of an early print of *opus 3* (*Balfour 145*), in 9 part-books, which contains a completely different Concerto IV from that in all later prints, besides differing in several other respects.<sup>9</sup> An important feature is that the *Violino Primo* titlepage has the following note in small engraving, though it is absent from the titles of the remaining 8 part-books (see facsimile 1):

N.B. Several of these Concertos were perform'd on the Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Royal of Great Britain in the Royal Chappel of St. James's.

After this discovery efforts were made to ascertain whether further exemplars of this issue were extant: no complete exemplar was traced, but duplicates of the *Violino Primo* and *Flauto Secondo* part-books were located in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (*Mus.183.c.22*). The Oxford *Violino Primo* titlepage, however, does not include the "N.B. Several of these . . .", nor does the N.B. appear in the title of any part-book of any other exemplar. A close examination of the remaining 12 exemplars with the titlepage of 1734 *ff.* (nos. 3-14 below) showed that there were faint traces of the N.B. still decipherable in each titlepage, proving that the same plate had been used but that the N.B. had been erased from the plate before these titles were printed (these faint traces do not appear in a photograph unless the film is considerably overexposed, cf. facsimile 2). The Royal Wedding referred to was celebrated on 14th March, 1734, but it is hardly likely that two or more of the *opus 3* Concertos were performed at the actual wedding service. Rather is it probable that the reference is to the *Serenata*, "*Il Parnasso in Festa*", which Handel was commissioned to compose

<sup>8</sup> Special thanks for the loan of exemplars are accorded to the Council of the Royal College of Organists, London (1 set of part-books), Mr. William C. Smith, Chislehurst, Kent (3 sets) and Dr. James S. Hall, Walmer, Kent (2 sets).

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Redlich has described his discovery in essays which were published in *The Musical Times*, August, 1956, p. 409, and in *Musica*, Heft IX, September, 1956, p. 611. This Concerto IV has been edited jointly by Dr. Redlich and the present writer and published by Ernst Eulenburg Ltd., London (No. 374), September, 1957: it will also appear as an appendix in the *Hallische Handel-Ausgabe* music volume of *opus 3*.

*Oboe Concertos* 145

# CONCERTI GROSSI

*Con Due Violini  
e Violoncello di Concertino  
Obbligati e Due Altri Violini  
Viola e Basso di Concerto Grosso  
Ad Arbitrio*

DA

## G. F. HANDEL.

*generally called his*  
OBOE (Opera Terza.) CONCERTOS

N.B. Several of these Concertos were perform'd on the Marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Royal of Great Britain in the Royal Chapel of St. James's.

*Note. All the Works of this Author both Vocal and Instrumental may be had where this is Sold.*

*London. Printed for and Sold by I. Walsh Music Printer  
and Instrument maker to his Majesty at the Harp & Hoboy  
in Catherine Street in the Strand.*

N<sup>o</sup>. 507

[facsimile 1]

Titlepage of the Violino Primo part-book of print no. 2 (Balfour 145, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh) published about March, 1734. Size 31.5 × 22.5 cms.—cropped. A former owner has written the words "generally called his OBOE ( ) CONCERTOS".

Walt ston Hooley

1737

## CONCERTI GROSSI

*Con Due Violini  
e Violoncello di Concertino  
Obbligati e Due Altri Violini  
Viola e Basso di Concerto Grosso*

Ad Arbitrio

DA

G. F. HANDEL.

Opera Terza.

*Note. All the Works of this Author both Vocal and Instrumental may be had where this is Sold.*

*London. Printed for and Sold by I. Walsh Musick Printer  
and Instrument maker to his Majesty at the Harp & Lute  
in Catherine Street in the Strand.*

N<sup>o</sup>. 507

[facsimile 2]

Titlepage of the *Hautboy Primo* part-book of print no. 4 (Balfour 146, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh) published December, 1734, or earlier. Size 32.3 × 23.6 cms.—cropped. The engraved "N.B. Several of these Concertos . . ." has been erased from the plate, except for slight traces which still remain.



# CONCERTI GROSSI

Con Due Violini  
e Violoncello di Concertino  
Obbligati e Due Altri Violini  
Viola e Basso di Concerto Grosso  
Ad Arbitrio

DA  
G. F. HANDEL.

Opera Terza.

London. Printed for I. Walsh in Catharine-Street in St. Martin's Lane.

Of whom may be had Composed by M<sup>r</sup> HANDEL.

60 Overtures for Violins &c. in 8 Parts.  
100 Songs Selected from the Oratorios. 4 Parts.  
10 Grand Concertos for Violins. 7 Parts.  
6 Concertos call'd Select Harmony.  
The Water and Fire Musick. 7 Parts.  
15 Sonatas for 2 Violins and a Bass.  
Apollon's Feast, containing 100 Songs from his  
Theatricals. in Score. 5 Vol.

12 Solos for a German Flute and a Bass.  
20 Oratorios in Score, with Alexander's Feast and Acis  
and Galatea. Bound in 10 Vol.  
60 Overtures for the Harpsichord.  
8 Sets of Lessons, and one Book of Fugues.  
12 Organ Concertos.  
Chamber Aires from his Operas and Oratorios. Set for  
a German Flute and Bass. 7 Vol.

[facsimile 3]

New titlepage of the edition published about 1752. *Violino Primo* part-book of  
*Mus. 183.c.23*, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Size 35 × 24 cms.—uncropped.

and arrange for the wedding celebrations and which was performed on the eve of the wedding, with repeat performances on 16th, 19th, 23rd and 26th March.

A collation of the 15 exemplars with the new titlepage of c. 1752 (facsimile 3) showed that the part-books had become standardized in contents, make-up and pagination. On the other hand, a collation of the 14 exemplars with the titlepage of 1734 ff. suggested most strongly that several issues or "states" were represented here: in an attempt to place these in historical order of issue a complete record was made of the title and contents of every page of every part-book, together with a record of the watermark in each folio. As an additional test, an experiment was carried out with the possibility of expansion of the titlepage plate in mind: this will be described later. The 14 exemplars with the titlepage of 1734 ff. are as follows:

1. Bodleian Library, Oxford (*Mus.183.c.22*). Issue in 9 part-books: only *Violino Primo* and *Flauto Secondo* are extant.
2. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (*Balfour 145*). Issue in 9 part-books, all of which are extant (see facsimile 1).
3. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Vm.15.2600*). Only the *Fagotto Primo e 2<sup>do</sup>* part-book is extant, but by the watermarks and size of the titlepage frame (see p. 22) this probably belongs to the issue in 7 part-books represented by nos. 4-7 which follow. The "standard" Concerto IV appears in this and all subsequent exemplars.
4. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (*Balfour 146*). Issue in 7 part-books: all 7 are extant but 2 folios of *Violino Secondo* are missing. The former separate *Flauto Primo* part-book was combined with the *Violino Secondo* part-book for this edition, and the former *Flauto Secondo* with the *Hautboy Secondo* (see facsimile 2).
5. *W. C. Smith (no. 1)*. Exemplar in possession of Mr. William C. Smith, Chislehurst, Kent. Issue in 7 part-books: *Violino Primo* is missing and *Violino Secondo* is imperfect.
6. Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm (*Ob-R*). Issue in 7 part-books, all of which are extant.
7. Universitets Biblioteket, Uppsala (*Instrumentalmusik i tryck, 64-69*). Issue in 7 part-books: *Basso Continuo* is missing.
8. Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge (*MN.13.2-8.no.6, MN.18.16.no.4*). Issue in 9 part-books: *Flauto Secondo* is missing. This marks Walsh's return to his original number of part-books, probably because of the difficulties caused to players of different instruments when reading from the same part-book, as happened in the previous issue in 7 part-books.

9. J. S. Hall (no. 1). Exemplar in possession of Dr. James S. Hall, Walmer, Kent. Issue in 9 part-books: *Flauto Primo* and *Flauto Secondo* are missing.
10. W. C. Smith (no. 2). Issue in 9 part-books: *Hautboy Primo* and *Hautboy Secondo* are missing, and one folio is missing from each of *Violino Primo* and *Flauto Primo*.
11. Pendlebury Library, University Music School, Cambridge (21.G.4-11). Issue in 9 part-books: *Flauto Secondo* is missing. In the titlepages of this and the following exemplars large cracks and smudges are apparent, suggesting the breaking up of the plate.
12. Rowe Music Library, King's College, Cambridge (RW.44.1-7, no. 2). Issue in 9 part-books: *Flauto Primo* and *Flauto Secondo* are missing.
13. Royal College of Music Library, South Kensington, London (LX.E.2.(8)). Issue in 9 part-books: *Flauto Primo* and *Flauto Secondo* are missing.
14. Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, Paris (Rés.V.S.1499.(1-8)). Issue in 9 part-books: *Flauto Secondo* is missing.

The experiment designed to test whether expansion of the titlepage plate took place under repeated pressings, referred to above, is founded on a knowledge of the process of printing from engraved plates during Handel's period. Though the titlepage plate of prints nos. 1-14 appears to have been made of copper, the plates of the music text were most probably made of pewter (the indentations being made by a combination of punching and engraving in contrast to the titlepage plate which was wholly engraved). The paper sheet to be printed was first moistened before being placed on the inked plate, and then plate and paper were passed through heavy (wooden?) rollers. In this process a very slight lateral expansion would take place, both in the plate and in the paper, owing to the heavy pressure exerted: this would be followed by a slight contraction of the paper as it dried. As the titlepage plate of prints nos. 1-14 has a rectangular frame approximately 0.5 cm. from the edge of the plate, it was hoped that careful measurements of the four sides of the frame in all titlepages of these prints would show a slight but progressive expansion of the plate and so indicate the historical order in which these titlepages had passed through the presses. A drawback to this experiment seemed to lie in the fact that the paper was moistened before printing and so might cause unpredictable variations in the measurements: as the paper used throughout prints nos. 1-14 was of a similar quality and thickness it was hoped that the expansion and contraction would be fairly constant. The exemplars in Great Britain have been measured by the writer in person and he is greatly indebted to the librarians concerned for collaborating in the measurements of the exemplars in Stockholm, Uppsala and Paris. After the measurements of the four sides of the frame of each part-book within each exemplar had been recorded, an average was taken of each side to represent the exemplar. Space will

allow only the averages to be listed here. In the table below the following information has been correlated after each print, (a) the number of part-books in the edition represented by the print, (b) the number of titlepages extant, (c) the watermarks appearing throughout the folios of the part-books—for an explanation of the code letters see the watermark illustrations, and (d) the average measurement of each of the four sides of the titlepage frame.

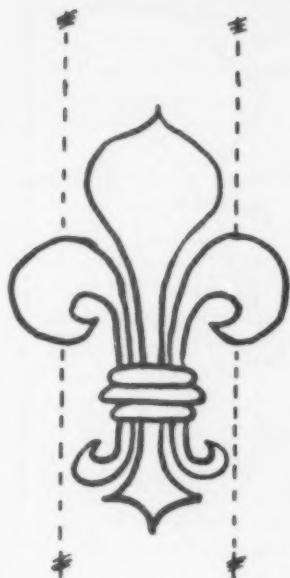
Prints nos. 1-14 with titlepage of 1734 ff.

Print no.	Pressmark and location	Edition in 9 or 7 parts	Titlepages extant	Watermarks (see illustrations)	Average measurements of the titlepage frame in centimetres			
					top	bottom	left	right
1	<i>Mus.183.c.22</i> , Oxford	9	2	B, K	17.475	17.400	24.600	24.600
2	<i>Balfour 145</i> , Edinburgh	9	9	B, K	17.522	17.414	24.689	24.678
3	<i>Vm.15.2600</i> , Paris	7	1	A, K	17.550	17.414	24.650	24.700
4	<i>Balfour 146</i> , Edinburgh	7	5	A, B, K	17.519	17.410	24.707	24.694
5	<i>W. C. Smith (no. 1)</i> , Chislehurst	7	5	A, B, K	17.555	17.405	24.750	24.700
6	<i>Ob-R</i> , Stockholm	7	7	A, B, K	17.564	17.457	24.807	24.771
7	<i>64-69</i> , Uppsala	7	6	A, B, K	17.566	17.500	24.816	24.791
8	<i>MN.13.2-8 (no. 6)</i> <i>MN.18.16 (no. 4)</i> , Cambridge	9	9	A, B, K, IW	17.562	17.462	24.900	24.831
9	<i>J. S. Hall (no. 1)</i> , Walmer	9	7	A, B, K, IW	17.579	17.471	24.900	24.871
10	<i>W. C. Smith (no. 2)</i> , Chislehurst	9	7	A, B, K, IW	17.643	17.543	25.000	24.857
11	<i>21.G.4-11</i> , Cambridge	9	7	BII, KII	17.521	17.443	24.921	24.764
12	<i>RW.44.1-7 (no. 2)</i> , Cambridge	9	7	BII, KII	17.693	17.578	24.936	24.836
13	<i>LX.E.2. (8)</i> , London	9	6	BII, KII	17.741	17.633	24.933	24.850
14	<i>Rés. V.S.1499</i> , Paris	9	8	BII, KII	17.700	17.650	25.037	24.962

The writer does not claim that the conclusions which he has drawn from the results set out in the above table are scientifically exact. The probable variability of the expansion and contraction of the paper during the printing process precludes this. There is, however, a large measure of agreement in the data provided, and the figures giving the average measurements of the frame indicate a slight but progressive expansion from print no. 1 through to no. 14. If this is accepted, then prints 1-14 can be divided into four main groups representing four, or possibly five separate Walsh issues or editions. At the same time these

## Original Prints

WZ-B



WZ-K



WZ-A



Watermarks "B", "A", "K" in the series of original prints, actual size. See table on page 22.

## Original Prints

WZ-IW

IW

WZ-BII



WZ-KII

IV

Watermarks "IW", "BII", "KII" in the series of original prints, actual size. See table on page 22.



groupings can be collated with advertisements inserted by Walsh in newspapers and his prints of other works during this period, as follows:

(1) *Prints nos. 1-2.* First edition: issue in 9 part-books during the first few months of 1734. The N.B. in the title of the *Violino Primo* part-book of *Balfour 145* refers to the Royal Wedding (or the wedding festivities) which took place in March of that year. Two points should be noted, (a) that the small size of the N.B. engraving and its cramped position on the plate suggest that the N.B. was an addition or afterthought to a plate which had already been engraved, and (b) that the titlepages of print no. 1 and of print no. 2 other than that of the *Violino Primo* part-book do not include the N.B., nor do they display any evidence of the traces which remained after the erasure of the N.B. from the plate. Point (b) proves that Walsh had a supply of titlepages printed *before* the N.B. was added to the plate, while point (a) suggests that Walsh was not aware at the time the plate was engraved of Handel's intention to perform some of his newly composed *opus 3* Concertos at the Royal Wedding celebrations. Walsh was an excellent business man and doubtless would seize this opportunity of increasing his sales. The above evidence suggests that print no. 1 represents an issue just before the Royal Wedding on 14th March, and print no. 2 an issue shortly after this date. From this we can state with assurance that paper bearing the watermarks B and K was in use at least as early as March, 1734.

(2) *Prints nos. 3-7.* Issue in 7 part-books at a date in 1734 when the Royal Wedding celebrations had ceased to be of topical interest, as may be inferred through Walsh's erasure of the N.B. from the titlepage plate: he would not wish to date his edition and so lose sales. The newspaper advertisement for 7th December, 1734, mentioned above, describes this issue as "*Six Concerto's for Violins, etc., in seven parts, Opera terza*" and another for 2nd November, 1734, in the same newspaper, lists a set of Concertos by Handel, "*printed on fine Dutch paper*". We know also that in the print of Handel's opera *Atlanta* Walsh advertised "*Six Concertos for Violins in 7 parts, Opera terza*": this print was published on or about 9th June, 1736. On the titlepage of the *Hautboy Primo* part-book of print no. 4 (see facsimile 2) the owner's name and the year 1737 are written. The date appears to be written in fainter ink than the name and it may represent either the year in which the print was purchased or the year to which the print was attributed by a later owner. The issue in 7 parts was thus sold by Walsh at least as early as December (possibly November) 1734 and at least as late as June, 1736 (possibly as late as 1737). If the inclusion of the different Concerto IV in prints 1 and 2 (c. March, 1734) was an error, Walsh would certainly correct this as soon as possible: if true, this is an additional reason for a second issue later in the same year.

(3) *Prints nos. 8-10.* These represent Walsh's return to his original scheme of issuing *opus 3* in 9 part-books. The watermark A, strangely enough, appears only in one folio in each of the three exemplars, and this in the *Violino Primo* part-book in each case. K is found in this part-book once in each of prints 8 and 9, B and K appear exclusively in the *Violino Primo* of all three

prints, and all other folios have the mark IW. According to Dr. Shorter (*op. cit.*, p. 58) the initials IW represent the earliest countermark used by James Whatman after he had taken over the Turkey Mill, Kent, in 1740, which Dr. Shorter has found in a paper dated 1747. It is possible that prints 8-10 provide proof of this mark being used by Whatman six years earlier: an advertisement in *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* for 11th November, 1741, is the only one traced which states "... *Concertos for Hautboys and Violins in 9 parts. Op. 3. . .*". It seems reasonable to conclude that prints 8-10 were issued on or about 11th November, 1741, and that this edition marks the earliest use of Whatman paper up to the present state of knowledge.

(4) *Prints nos. 11-14.* This issue is also in 9 part-books, a scheme which remained unchanged thereafter. This is probably the latest issue of *opus 3* with the title page of 1734. The exemplars examined by the writer display large cracks and smudges on the titlepage at the letters "CO" of *CONCERTO* and the "G" of G. F. *HANDEL*, pointing to the breaking up of the plate. This would be a reasonable explanation for the use of a new titlepage plate when Walsh published his next edition of *opus 3*, for, as the titlepage was common to all part-books, the old plate had had to do 7 to 9 times the duty of every other plate. The edition with the new titlepage (facsimile 3) can be dated c. 1752 by means of the list of advertisements which is printed at the foot of the page. It may be assumed that prints 11-14 were issued between 1741 and 1752. An advertisement in *The Daily Advertiser* for 15th July, 1743, states "... *Concertos for Violins, etc., by Handel . . .*" and this probably refers to *opus 3*. The paper bearing the watermarks B II and K II may be of Dutch origin or they may be Whatman copies of hackneyed Dutch designs.

A collation of the 15 exemplars with the new titlepage of c. 1752 showed that there were no alterations in the actual music text from that of the edition published towards the end of 1734. Therefore the 1752 edition was relatively of little importance in preparing an *Urtext* edition for the *Hallsche Händel-Ausgabe*, and the recording of the watermarks was not carried out in such a detailed manner. It is interesting to note, however, that five sets of part-books have no marks other than vertical or horizontal chain-lines, while seven sets have mainly chain-lines with only a few folios bearing such designs as the crowned *fleur-de-lys* in shield over GR or RG. These seven sets suggest that Walsh was using up oddments of paper simultaneously with a new supply devoid of designs.

The tracing of watermark designs by hand is always a difficult process, as the paper must be held up against the light and very few libraries provide special mechanical facilities for this. With the best of intentions errors may creep in. A research student,<sup>10</sup> with whom the writer is in close contact, has developed a more satisfactory method of recording watermarks and has kindly provided the following summary:

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Noel Forster, Department of Fine Art, King's College, University of Durham, who will be glad to provide technical details to readers interested in his methods.

"Photography with electronic flash can be used in comparisons of the paper as well as of the subjects of documents, manuscripts, prints, drawings, *etc.* First, in the examination of the surface qualities of paper and the subject thereon, it has been found that large quantities of documents can be photographed very quickly with 100 per cent. reliable results. The apparatus used consisted of a dry battery power pack and two lamps, mounted on each end of a specially made rod, with the camera in the centre. Photography was in colour, the subject being in this case the drawings of Rembrandt. Secondly, to compare the density, grain and watermarks of sheets of paper, it is possible to employ a 'trans-illumination' process, using the same apparatus, black and white film being adequate, with one lamp mounted in a box on the reverse side at a constant distance from the sheet. It is essential to use the same object-to-camera and light-to-object distances in every case, and to standardize all factors of time, exposure, *etc.*, so that the same scale is retained: the inclusion of a rule with units of measurement in the exposure will ensure that the printing process reproduces the exact size of the original watermark designs, chain-lines and laid-lines of the mould".

This survey of a limited field of Handelian sources is sufficient to show that much new knowledge would be gained if the survey were extended to cover the whole field. A study of the paper and watermarks of an undated manuscript or print will rarely be conclusive in itself for dating purposes, but may well yield profitable results when combined with other *data* such as the handwriting, a comparison of "readings" of the text, newspaper advertisements, and (in the case of prints) bibliographical comparisons and evidence of plate expansion. In the writer's opinion, a watermark catalogue (which in the case of Handelian manuscripts would provide a long-felt want) or any collection of watermark illustrations must necessarily reproduce the designs in the precise dimensions found in the paper if comparisons of watermark designs are to be of maximum value.

## Verdian Forgeries

BY

FRANK WALKER

### II

#### LETTERS HOSTILE TO CATALANI

THE authenticity of the letters from Giuseppina Verdi to her confessor, the subject of the first part of this inquiry,<sup>1</sup> had not previously been called in question; that of the letters from Verdi to Giuseppe Perosio, now to be discussed, was challenged by Alessandro Luzio, in the *Corriere della Sera* for 26th January, 1941, and in the fourth volume of the *Carteggi verdiani* (1947). Luzio's case against the letters is not complete, and his conclusion has been tacitly rejected by Carlo Gatti, in the second edition of his *Verdi* (1951) and in his *Catalani* (Milan, 1953).

In the course of correspondence following the publication of Mr. John W. Klein's article "Verdi's Attitude to his Contemporaries" in *THE MUSIC REVIEW* for November, 1949, I drew attention to Luzio's challenge, but said that I was unable to make up my mind whether he was justified or not. I was told that I *ought* to have made up my mind. So I dutifully re-examined the evidence, with a view to an article on the subject, only to arrive at the same inconclusive result. A researching biographer, if he is honest, is compelled, from time to time, to set aside, in a sort of mental deep-freeze, controversial matters about which the evidence available is conflicting or insufficient. Later on, new information may enable him to return to the subject, and come to a definite conclusion. This is what has happened to me, in the case of the letters, hostile to Catalani, alleged to have been written by Verdi to Perosio.

My conclusion is that they are indeed forgeries, and by the same hand as the spurious letters of Giuseppina to her confessor.

Gatti says that these letters to Perosio were published in the newspapers of Genoa, Milan and Turin. I have searched for them in vain in Genoese newspapers; one letter appeared in the *Corriere della Sera*, of Milan, for 23rd June, 1940, in an unsigned article<sup>2</sup> headed "Genoa, 22nd June"; this letter also appeared, with two others, in the *Stampa Sera*, of Turin, for 28th June, 1940, in an article<sup>3</sup> signed "C. Belviglieri", headed "Genoa, Friday evening".

Here is a translation, as accurate as I can make it, of the letters:

"I don't believe that these gentlemen, on the pretext that my *Otello* is being performed, or to honour the Great Genoese Discoverer, will expect me to come and show myself in the theatre. So much the less, then, to hear the new German opera by

<sup>1</sup> *MUSIC REVIEW*, November, 1958.

<sup>2</sup> "Verdi e Catalani in una lettera inedita del grande Maestro".

<sup>3</sup> "Tre documenti inediti: Il 'maestrino lucchese' non godeva le simpatie di Giuseppe Verdi".

that *maestrino lucchese*, which, however, they tell me has had some success at La Scala. I have been told about him by Ricordi, who is obstinately determined to publish his operas, but I don't believe to any advantage. The public wants Italian music and not German imitations and travesties. We want something other than 'the music of the future'! Tell everybody that I am not at Genoa and that I shall not come to hear any new opera, and not even my own. You will inform me about this business, but I don't believe that the opera will last, in spite of the fuss made at Milan, because without heart and inspiration one cannot produce vital music. These young fellows who want to renovate and hurry along new paths seem to me rather ill-advised, and confiding too much in the future they will end by losing the present as well. At all events I am not there and they won't get me there. . . ."

"They say I wage war on Catalani, putting pressure on Signor Giulio not to publish his works, or to prevent the sale and hire of them. Stories! I have other things to do than occupy myself with the *maestrino lucchese*, who doesn't disturb my sleep. These *lucchese*, however, are very hard and obstinate. Say, anyhow, that I do not bother myself with them or with him; at any rate he will not get on. But if he doesn't, don't blame me, as I'm not interested".

"Dear Perosio . . . For the performance of *Cristoforo Colombo* I need a box; have the kindness to book it for me, if possible the usual one. I did not go to hear my *Otello*; I shall make a single exception for *Colombo*, which they tell me is a meritorious work. I hope they won't blame me for it and use it as precedent for going to hear the German opera of the *lucchese*, which cannot interest me and which I cannot believe vital, in spite of the fuss that has been made. . . ."

It is quite clear that the letters refer to the Autumn season of 1892 at the Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa, which included special Columbus celebrations. The season opened with *Otello* on 23rd August; *Rigoletto* followed on 5th September; there was a "spettacolo di gala" of *Otello*, with the whole city illuminated, on 8th September; on the 17th of the same month a concert included a cantata *L'Apoteosi di Colombo*, by Ettore Perosio, son of Verdi's friend; on 6th October Toscanini conducted the first performance of *Cristoforo Colombo*, by Alberto Franchetti, specially commissioned for the celebrations; on 16th October Catalani's *La Wally*, first produced earlier in the same year at La Scala, was put on, and on 27th October Donizetti's *La Favorita*.

Details of the Columbus celebrations are given in Ambrogio Brocca's *Il Teatro Carlo Felice* (Genoa, 1898), from which any person intent on forging documents relating to them could also discover that Verdi attended a performance of *Cristoforo Colombo* on 24th October.

Less than a year later Catalani was dead. After reading about the funeral, Verdi wrote to Edoardo Mascheroni on 10th August, 1893:<sup>4</sup>

"Poor Catalani! A fine man and an excellent musician! What a pity! What a pity! Congratulate Giulio on his few beautiful words on behalf of that poor fellow. What a shame! And what a reproach for the others!"

This is the only other letter known in which Verdi mentions Catalani at all. "A fine man and an excellent musician!"—how is this to be reconciled with the expressions of contempt and dislike in the letters allegedly written only about a year before?

In the commentary on the letters when they were published in the *Stampa*

<sup>4</sup> Appendix to the *Copialettere*, p. 720.



*Sera*, it was asserted that Perosio, the recipient, had as a result of them adversely criticized Catalani's opera. Luzio's reply to this was to reprint, from the *Corriere mercantile* of 16th-17th October, 1892, Perosio's notice of *La Wally*, which, although it does not say very much about the music, reports the success of the work at considerable length, praises the singers and certainly shows no trace of hostility towards the composer. In Luzio's opinion the accusation against Verdi falls to the ground with the production of this document, it being unthinkable, he says, that Perosio would have shown such "unlimited favour" (this is a strong exaggeration) if he had been conscious of opposing the will of Verdi, on whose good opinion the whole future of his son Ettore might depend. But this is an argument that does honour to nobody; and it ignores Verdi's invariable attitude, demonstrated by documents of unimpeachable authority, towards both criticism and nepotism. It is impossible to imagine him revenging himself on Perosio junior because Perosio senior had failed to echo his own supposed opinion on the faults of *La Wally*. More persuasive are Luzio's arguments that Perosio's family, whom he had approached, knew nothing of these anti-Catalani letters, and that Verdi was not at all hostile to other younger composers. But nothing conclusive can be proved on these lines.

In defence of the authenticity of the letters it could be argued that Catalani, in his youth, really had been a Wagnerian and had spoken disparagingly of Verdi, in letters to Stefano Stampa, who was Manzoni's step-son, and thus, via the Countess Maffei, Verdi could have learned of this, and resented it. He was only human, and something similar had happened in the case of Boito. The change in his attitude could then be put down to the shock of Catalani's early death. Here are two passages from the latter's letters to Stampa,<sup>5</sup> written at the age of about twenty-one:

(March-April, 1875):

"The success of *Lohengrin* in London, denied by *Il Pungolo* but now confirmed by *La Perseveranza*, is another victory for our musical party, and I rejoice in it with all my heart".

(6th July, 1875, with reference to Verdi's tour of Paris, London and Vienna, with the *Requiem*):

"You ask how I would explain Verdi's *European* triumph. It is truly a bit difficult to reply. It is a fact that the triumph exists, but I am firmly convinced that it was not due to the merit (not very great) of the music. I still believe that politics must have played a big part in this success, especially in Vienna. Blessed politics! They are omnipresent, and do harm to everything, and to nothing more than to the arts. In spite, however, of all the reasons that can be adduced to explain that success, the fact is that it's an indication of decadence. . . . I like to compare Verdi to the poets of the seventeenth century, who by their hyperbole caused the good public to rave; Verdi, instead, causes them to rave by shouts and vulgar effects, devoid of common sense".

It is unlikely that Verdi ever saw these letters; it is certainly possible that he heard something of Catalani's opinions, as already suggested, through the Countess Maffei, or Franco Faccio. But there is no evidence about this.

<sup>5</sup> Published by Ezio Flori in *Il Figliastro del Manzoni* (Milan, 1939).



A volume of letters from Catalani to his friend Giuseppe Depanis, edited by Carlo Gatti, was published in 1946.<sup>6</sup> Some of them had been quoted in books and articles long before this date. In the first edition of Gatti's *Verdi*, of 1931, the statements<sup>7</sup> that Verdi often invited Puccini to dinner, that he had begged Romilda Pantaleoni to take the part of Tigrana in *Edgar* and that it was already whispered that Puccini was the "Crown Prince" and Verdi's successor, all derive from Catalani's letters to Depanis. It would have been better to make this clear, because poor Catalani was quite green with envy of Puccini and almost certainly exaggerated. At any rate, no one has yet succeeded in proving that Verdi ever took the trouble to attend a performance of any of Puccini's operas.<sup>8</sup> The often-quoted letter to Arrivabene about *Le Villi* only repeats what he had been told and read about it in a letter from someone else.

Catalani's earlier operas had been published by the firm of Lucca, Ricordi's chief rivals, and after the latter had absorbed the former, in 1888, he found it difficult to gain access to his new publisher. In the letters to Depanis he often complains of this, and of Ricordi's preference for Puccini. He does not suggest that Verdi's influence was behind the "sphinx-like" attitude of Ricordi, but this aspect of the situation might be cited as at least circumstantial evidence in support of the authenticity of the letters published in 1940.

The most important piece of evidence provided by the letters to Depanis, however, throws the balance down heavily on the other side. Early in 1892 Catalani was at Genoa for the production of *Loreley* at the Teatro Carlo Felice. He had long abandoned the opinions of his callow youth and he paid a visit to Verdi at Palazzo Doria. This is what he told Depanis on 20th February:

"The other day I called on Verdi, who received me with incomparable cordiality. We talked of many things, including *Falstaff* (which is completely finished, as regards composition, but has still to be scored), *Wally* and *Fritz*,<sup>9</sup> and we came to speak of the press and your article on *La Wally*, which Verdi read in the *Gazzetta Musicale*. He said to me: Nothing is more true than Depanis' words concerning Wagner; that is, that Wagner's name has now become the synonym of tyranny in art!"

It is astonishing that Gatti, in the second edition of his *Verdi*,<sup>10</sup> ignores the date of this letter, which he had himself published, and transfers the episode to the autumn, when Catalani was at Genoa for the production of *La Wally* during the Columbus celebrations. This enables him to explain the contemptuous expressions in the supposed letters to Perosio as things that had been written before Verdi had any personal knowledge of Catalani and *La Wally*. In his *Catalani* of 1953 Gatti gives the right date, February, but adopts, without considering chronology, the same attitude concerning the letters to Perosio.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Alfredo Catalani, *Lettere* (Milan, 1946).

<sup>7</sup> Vol II, p. 410.

<sup>8</sup> Lorenzo Alpino says he heard *Manon Lescaut* in the Teatro Carlo Felice at Genoa. But the unsupported testimony of this writer is worthless.

<sup>9</sup> Mascagni's *L'Amico Fritz* was also being performed at Genoa at this time.

<sup>10</sup> p. 731.

<sup>11</sup> pp. 225-27 and 243.

Mr. Klein, in an article "Alfredo Catalani: 1854-93" in *Music & Letters* for January, 1954, takes a similar line. He accepts the authenticity of the letters:

"As for Verdi, he was doubtless informed of the young man's outbursts. His uncharitable criticisms of Catalani have been dismissed as forgeries, on what appears to me the flimsiest of evidence. They strike me as unmistakably authentic, for in these autocratic letters I hear the very accents of Verdi's imperious voice".

No forgery, of course, could hope to deceive anyone unless some attempt was made to reproduce the "very accents" of Verdi's voice. Mr. Klein continues:

"Only towards the end of his short life, in February, 1892, did Catalani finally meet Verdi. About this memorable meeting there is something very moving. The illustrious composer, full of years and glory, and the young musician already a dying man, haunted by a premonition of doom, both realized that for too long they had been separated by a barrier of prejudice and misunderstanding, and both silently rejoiced that mutual admiration had at last driven out hostility and resentment. Amicably they discussed their two masterpieces. . . . And thus a feud ended in a spirit of reconciliation bordering on serenity".

This is very touching. But it ignores the fact that the letters hostile to Catalani are, on their own internal evidence, *later in date* than this meeting. They concern the Columbus celebrations of the late summer and autumn of 1892; the third letter asks Perosio to book a box for a performance of Franchetti's *Cristoforo Colombo*, first produced on 6th October. Gatti and Mr. Klein are on the horns of a dilemma: the letters are either forgeries or they are genuine; if they are forgeries there is no evidence that Verdi was ever hostile; if they are genuine there was no reconciliation.

It is established that Verdi received Catalani in February with "incomparable cordiality", that they spoke together of *La Wally* and of Depanis' article on this opera, which Verdi had read in the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*.<sup>12</sup> He said: "Nothing is more true than Depanis' words concerning Wagner; that is, that Wagner's name has now become the synonym of tyranny in art!" When one consults the article in the *Gazzetta Musicale* one finds that Depanis had complained that the Milanese critics had done less than full justice to *La Wally* because they were "under the incubus of Bayreuth". Verdi agreed with Depanis, and this implies that he thought Catalani's opera was *not* Wagnerian. This is the very opposite of everything said about it in the letters under discussion. And if he had talked of the opera with its composer, and read about the production at La Scala in the *Gazzetta Musicale*, as he had, how did he come to write later of "the new German opera by that *maestrino lucchese*, which, however, they tell me has had some success at La Scala"? Why "they tell me", when full reports, with pages of reprinted notices, had appeared in the *Gazzetta Musicale*?

But one can go further than that: shortly after his meeting with Catalani he actually attended a performance of *La Wally* at La Scala and commented very favourably upon it. This is a fact that has escaped all recent writers on this subject. It is recorded, however, in D. L. Pardini's booklet *Alfredo Catalani*

<sup>12</sup> 31st January, 1892, reprinted from the *Gazzetta Piemontese*.

(Lucca, 1935, p. 43): "Maestro Verdi himself, after attending the 17th performance of the opera, 'declared that he was truly enthusiastic'". The quotation is from a contemporary newspaper, *Il Telegrafo*. The 17th performance of *La Wally* took place about 8th March. The *Gazzetta Musicale*, though it says nothing about Verdi's visit to La Scala, mentions his presence at Milan at that time.

I ask again: how, *after this*, could he have written about the opera as though he did not know it, but disliked the very idea of it, as a Wagnerian imitation, alien to Italy?

We have found some arguments, far more damaging than any put forward by Luzio, against the authenticity of the letters. We must now try to answer Mr. Klein's question, in his letter to the Editor, in *THE MUSIC REVIEW* for May, 1950: "Who on earth would have stooped to blacken a national idol forty years after his death by deliberately concocting such churlish and ungenerous letters?"

When examination of Giuseppina Verdi's autograph letter-books had driven me to the conclusion that the documents published by Lorenzo Alpino in the *Corriere della Sera* were forgeries, it became necessary to trace and read, with a critical eye, as many as possible of his other writings. We have seen that his books and articles, including his personal reminiscences, are full of dubious and more than dubious stories. While working on the problem of Giuseppina's letters to her confessor, some curious facts began to emerge, relative to the other puzzling question of the anti-Catalani letters. I found that Alpino had published an article, "Verdi e i giovani maestri del suo tempo", in the *Gazzetta di Parma* for 21st January, 1928, in which it is stated that Verdi was "generous with money and also in mind, except where musicians, and especially young ones, were concerned; for them he had such contempt, and showed such negligence, that it seemed like jealousy. It is known that, in dealings with the publisher Ricordi, he was markedly hostile to Catalani, whose operas he did not want performed". This is the earliest reference to the alleged hostility that I have been able to find, and the fact that it occurs in the works of Alpino is enough to start anyone wondering. . . . Mr. Klein, in his article "Verdi's Italian Contemporaries and Successors", in *Music & Letters* for January, 1934, to which he rightly drew my attention, says precisely the same thing, in other words: "We know that Verdi, otherwise a generous and broadminded man, was savagely jealous of him and used his powerful influence to dissuade the publisher Ricordi from producing his young rival's work at the Scala". Mr. Klein does not tell us his source of information; it would be interesting to know whether he can cite one, other than Alpino's article, and earlier in date?

The letters were published in the *Stampa Sera* in an article signed "C. Belviglieri". This name is not unknown in Verdi literature; in the Genoese newspaper *Il Lavoro* for 4th September, 1929, there appeared an article under the same signature, "Un romanzo amoroso di Giuseppe Verdi?", based on the reminiscences of Luisa Cora-Mancinelli. "C. Belviglieri", however, is a pseudonym, as is seen from Francis Toye's *Giuseppe Verdi: his Life and Works* (1931, p. 149): "The widow of the well-known conductor Mancinelli told a

Genoese journalist who writes under the name of Belviglieri, the following story. . . . Unfortunately, Mr. Toye, when I questioned him, could not any longer recall the real name of this writer. However, the substance of this article is largely identical with that of a slightly earlier one by Alpino, "Verdi, Mariani, la Stolz e Gemito", in the *Corriere del Pomeriggio Illustrato* for 19th-20th January, 1927. It is of course possible that Signora Mancinelli told the same stories to two different Genoese journalists. But the association of the two names, Alpino and "C. Belviglieri", here and also in the literature of the Verdi-Catalani problem, is curious indeed. Is it possible that Alpino sometimes used this pseudonym?

When, with this idea in mind, one re-examines the article in the *Stampa Sera*, it becomes very difficult not to believe it Alpino's work. It is entirely in his manner, with several stories that had never been heard before, concerning Verdi, Catalani and Genoa, put into the mouths of persons who were conveniently dead at the time of publication. These stories, like many of those published elsewhere by Alpino, will not bear close examination. The writer recalls a discussion alleged to have taken place in the directors' box of the Teatro Carlo Felice "about fifteen years ago" (i.e. c. 1925), about Verdi's opposition to young composers in general and to Catalani in particular. The composers referred to include Mascagni, Puccini and Giordano, all of whom have put on record Verdi's kindness to them. In the case of Catalani, Cesare Gamba is posthumously called as a witness: "The engineer Gamba confirmed the ceaseless hostility of Verdi towards the young *maestrino lucchese* and cited in his support our colleague Giuseppe Perosio, 'who knew more than anyone about that'. In reality, Giuseppe Perosio possessed also written proof of Verdi's aversion to Catalani". The letters in question, of course, were the "written proof". Another witness called is the Wagnerian magistrate Mario Panizzardi, author of *Wagner in Italia* (2 vols., Genoa, 1914-1923):

"Panizzardi was present in the dressing-room of the famous artist Cesira Ferrani, at the Teatro Carlo Felice, when she sang there the part of the protagonist in *Loreley*, in 1892; Catalani also came in and, in the course of a brief conversation between the three of them, Catalani let it be known that Verdi's hostility was very painful to him; shortly afterwards, in the presence of la Ferrani and Panizzardi, poor Catalani fainted. . . ."

We can apply our chronological test to this: *Loreley* was first produced at the Teatro Carlo Felice on 18th February; on 20th February Catalani wrote to Depanis that "the other day" he had been received by Verdi "with incomparable cordiality". The story cannot possibly be true.

Luzio's discussion of these matters in the *Carteggi verdiani* is an amplification of what he originally wrote in the *Corriere della Sera* for 26th January, 1941.<sup>13</sup> The additional material includes a statement that "according to the assertion of the person who published the copies" the letters were given or sold by Perosio to Panizzardi. Luzio made a fruitless attempt to get information from Panizzardi's widow. For a long time I was puzzled by Luzio's statement, because in the *Stampa Sera* nothing is said about the letters having been in

<sup>13</sup> "1926", in the *Carteggi*, Vol. IV, p. 94, is a misprint.

Panizzardi's possession. But then, by an almost incredible stroke of luck, I found the explanation, and with it the final damning evidence and the solution of the whole problem.

I was sitting in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense at Milan, looking through the files of the cosy Catholic illustrated weekly *Pro Familia*, to which Alpino was a frequent contributor, in search of the date of publication of his article "Giuseppina Strepponi e il suo confessore", referred to in the first part of this inquiry into Verdian forgeries. I did not find it, but I stumbled instead on another article of his, "Verdi e i giovani musicisti del suo tempo", in the issue of 1st June, 1941. It is a reply to Luzio's challenge in the *Corriere della Sera*, and it is here that it is asserted that the letters were in Panizzardi's possession:

"Luzio tries to dismiss the accusation against Verdi, of having opposed the performance of Catalani's operas, by invalidating some of Verdi's own letters, in which Catalani is spoken of in a manner anything but sympathetic. Now such letters existed, and I have had them in my own hands, and seen them, by favour of the Counsellor of the Court of Appeal, Avv. Mario Panizzardi, of Genoa, an impassioned student of music, author of three very interesting volumes on Wagner, of whom he was a great admirer; they had been given to him by our common friend Perosio".

A guarantee of authenticity from the man responsible for the spurious letters from Giuseppina to Monteburno is worth less than nothing. And, in view of our suspicions, how interesting it is to find Alpino defending the writings of "C. Belviglieri"! But, on this point, it is most important to note again Luzio's precise words about the letters having been given by Perosio to Panizzardi "according to the assertion of the person who published the copies". For the assertion was made by Alpino, in *Pro Familia*, while the letters were published by "C. Belviglieri", in the *Stampa Sera*. Thus, in Luzio's final rejoinder, there is implicit the accusation: "*C. Belviglieri*" is *Lorenzo Alpino himself*. This is the conclusion towards which our own evidence has been leading. And it is well to recall that Luzio had had dealings with Alpino earlier, over the latter's statements about Verdi and freemasonry, and had forced him to retract and to throw the blame on someone else. Luzio could also have found out at the time, from the *Stampa Sera* or the *Corriere della Sera*, who it was, at Genoa, that had submitted, and been paid for, the articles containing the letters.

Now let us return to Alpino's article in *Pro Familia*. He goes on:

"But Verdi's aversion to Catalani had long been known to everyone. . . . I have here before me an article published in 1926 on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Verdi's death; in it one reads: 'It is known that, in dealings with the publisher Ricordi, Verdi was markedly hostile to Catalani, whose operas he did not want performed'".

What Alpino does not tell us is that *he wrote those words himself*! As we have seen, they occur (with "he" for "Verdi") in his article in the *Gazzetta di Parma* for 21st January, 1928. Perhaps they appeared somewhere else, also, in 1926; perhaps not. Alpino quotes another article, published in 1929, he says, "in an important periodical", about Toscanini, who "saved from oblivion and exile the operas of the unfortunate composer, who died in misery, of consumption, and against whom Verdi, in his old age, was particularly incensed, through jealousy". No author's name is mentioned, and it is probable that this is



another of his own articles. Since he does not name the "important periodical" it is not possible to confirm this.

Here is a final quotation from this thoroughly dishonest piece of work:

"Giuseppe Perosio, one of Verdi's few Genoese friends, said in his *Ricordi verdiani* that Verdi 'never spoke of the young musicians of his time: if he had been able to say anything good of them he would have done so'."

Now I possess a copy of Perosio's *Ricordi verdiani* (Pinerolo, 1928); *there is no such passage in the book!*

There is surely no need to continue. Alpino has been caught in the act, defending his own pseudonymous writings by reference to his own earlier inventions, while concealing the fact that they *are* his own, and by quoting a non-existent passage from Perosio's book.

In order to understand the only *genuine* letter in which Verdi refers to Catalani, that to Mascheroni of 10th August, 1893, it is only necessary to consult the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, where the obsequies of the younger composer are described. Mr. Klein has referred to Catalani's "lonely funeral". After which it is somewhat surprising to read a contemporary description of the actual ceremony:

"The funeral took place on Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock. Without noisy ostentation, it was worthy of the illustrious artist. On the hearse were displayed some positively magnificent wreaths, notably one of green leaves, of large dimensions, with an inscription embroidered in gold on rich white ribbon: 'To Maestro Alfredo Catalani, mourned by his *Wally*, Darclée'; another very beautiful one with the inscription: 'Edmea, Ferni to Catalani'; then that from Signora Giovannina Lucca, those from the Picconi family, from the Municipality of Lucca, from the Milan Conservatorio, from his friend Pietro Landi, from his pupils, from the *Famiglia Artistica*, and one in bronze, in eternal memory, from Ricordi & Co. In the carriage that preceded the hearse were piled up other most beautiful wreaths, of which it is impossible to give a list in detail.

"There preceded the bier, after the Municipal Band, the representatives of the *Società di Mutuo Soccorso*, of the House of Ricordi, and of the *Società Teatrale di Mutuo Soccorso*, with banners, and then the clergy. At the sides, all the way from the house to the church and from the latter to the cemetery, were Sig. Giulio Ricordi and the Mayor of Lucca, then Count Melzi, President of the Milan Conservatorio, Maestro Scontrino, and some of his pupils, among whom we noticed Mariani, Tarenghi, Gatti, very distressed, truly moved.

"The *Service of Honour* was rendered, naturally, by the personnel of the Conservatorio.

"There followed next, after the nearest relatives, a very numerous troop of people —artists, composers, ladies and friends.

"Citing names at random, we saw: Boito, Leoncavallo, Galli, Mingardi, Buzzi-Peccia, Pinocchi, Villaflorita, Carignani, representing the Società Guido Monaco of Lucca, Spetrino, Ronzi, Orsi, Rampazzini, Andreoli, Giacosa, Illica, etc., and poets and artists in large numbers, and among them Signora Stolz, la Mori, Oxilia, Durot, Lombardi, etc.

"Con-mendatore Ricordi had received commission by telegram to represent Maestri Mascheroni, Puccini and Luporini, and Avv. Depanis, of Turin.

"From Lucca, besides the Mayor, Comm. Enrico Del Carlo, there had also come Prof. Ferruccio Ferrari, of the Istituto Pacini, and from Turin Count Franchi di Verney, a very close friend of the deceased".

A "lonely funeral"?



What happened is that, after the Mayor of Lucca had said a few words, no one else, of all this numerous and distinguished company, came forward to deliver the customary oration, until Giulio Ricordi stepped into the breach. This, and no other, is the explanation of Verdi's words to Mascheroni: "Congratulate Giulio on his few beautiful words on behalf of that poor fellow. What a shame! And what a reproach for the others!" There is no longer any reason to ask, as Gatti does after quotation of this passage: "Among the others did he include himself?"

The Verdi-Catalani problem does not exist.

## *An Approach to Elgar's "Enigma"*

BY

JERROLD N. MOORE

IN his remarks about the *Enigma* Variations, Sir Edward Elgar always maintained that, above and beyond the identities of the "friends pictured within", there is a further enigma, a "larger theme" which "goes over" the entire work.<sup>1</sup> This "theme" has usually been associated with a tune or piece of music which was in some way alluded to by the actual *Enigma* theme. But whenever a specific solution of this kind was proposed to Elgar, he would reply, "It doesn't go". It seems futile at this late date to make second guesses concerning those musical solutions—such as the familiar "Auld Lang Syne"—which the composer himself rejected. The *Enigma* has never been satisfactorily solved, however, and possibly the time is ripe for a new approach.

The proposal here put forward is briefly this: the *Enigma* represents Elgar's—and every artist's—search for self-discovery and self-expression through his art. By utilizing the specific reference of himself and his friends as the portraits of the *Enigma* Variations, Elgar has made himself and his piece the symbol and metaphor of the artistic process.

It is thus my contention that the *Enigma* Variations is a piece of music whose subject-matter is music, and ultimately all of art. Elgar is here answering, by purely aesthetic—in this case, musical—means, the question: "How does an artist develop his especial message, his means of communication, and his own technique—his ability to manipulate his means of communication so as to convey his message?" These matters are closely related to the more fundamental question, "What is art, and how does it come about?" It is to these questions, I feel, that Elgar chiefly addresses himself in writing the *Enigma* Variations.

Elgar uses the variations-form in such a way as to allow the work to demonstrate its own subject-matter—to dramatize and criticize it simultaneously—thus raising the *Enigma* Variations far above the level of mere programme music. The aesthetic superiority of the *Enigma* Variations to ordinary programme music seems to me to consist in this: that whereas ordinary programme music represents a dramatization of, or commentary upon, a given story or situation, the form of Elgar's Variations allows the piece to appear to seek out and form, as it progresses, its own "story", an aesthetic pattern conceived and executed in purely musical terms. The *Enigma* Variations relies upon neither outside story nor extra-musical means to make its effect.

The variations-form, particularly as Elgar uses it, is a superb structural medium for the presentation of the theme of artistic development. It is a

<sup>1</sup> See Elgar's programme note for the first performance, quoted in Mrs. Richard Powell, *Memoirs of a Variation*, (3rd ed.), London, 1949, p. 121.

commonplace that, in the use of musical variations, the earlier variations must remain fairly close to the theme in style and texture. In this way, the relationships of these earlier variations with the theme may be easily perceived, and the theme itself copiously presented and illustrated, thus fixing it firmly in the listener's mind. Once the essence of the theme has been grasped, the later variations may range farther and farther from the original ground, and more and more oblique references to the theme will yet make their point. Using the variations-form in this manner, Elgar has been able to convey the idea of growing complexity and a kind of philosophical maturation, especially in the later variations as compared with the earlier ones. And so, metaphorically, the artist's progress during his pilgrimage toward self-realization and aesthetic communication is charted.

As a somewhat arbitrary device to demonstrate the relative complexity of the later variations, let us consider the following possible scheme of the *Enigma* Variations. The Variations as a whole can be divided into groups of three and four movements, each group concluding with a vigorous and usually brief variation. Thus, Variations I-IV would constitute a preliminary group, V-VII, VIII-XI, and XII-XIV forming the other groups. It is in these last three groups that the great structural and musical development occurs.

There is also another formal principle at work in Variations V-XIII, however, which may be illustrated in the following way. We may consider these variations as arranged and paired symmetrically around the *Nimrod* Variation (IX), which is central musically and numerically to this segment of the work. In this way, Variations VIII ("W.N.") and X (*Dorabella*) may be said to be paired. Each is in G major, each depicts a charming lady, and each is of chiefly light or playful character. *Dorabella* is much more elaborate in structure than "W.N.", however, for "W.N." uses as a secondary theme merely a mutation of its primary theme; and this primary theme is more obviously related to the original *Enigma* theme than are any of the *Dorabella* themes. Again, the boisterous Variations VII (*Troyte*) and XI ("G.R.S.") seem to be paired. Each of these variations juxtaposes a sequence of vigorous *arpeggios* in the strings with a forceful statement of a relatively simplified form of the theme by the winds and brass. In *Troyte* the juxtaposition is simultaneous, while in "G.R.S." it is alternating. In the same way, Variation VI (*Ysobel*), depicting a viola player, and Variation XII ("B.G.N."), showing a cellist, are linked. A single theme dominates each, framed at either end in each case by a still different statement of the theme, played on the appropriate instrument. Variations V ("R.P.A.") and XIII (\*\*\*-*Romanza*) are also similar in structure, each featuring the alternation of two themes of dramatically contrasting character. Each is marked *moderato*, but in "R.P.A." the *animato*-like section is framed by a more sober statement, whereas in the *Romanza* this arrangement of the two themes is reversed. Finally, Variations I-IV together are hardly longer than XIV alone, and what little the latter may lack in length, it more than compensates in thematic and structural intensity. Thus a sense of balance and symmetry is achieved in the *Enigma* Variations as a whole.

Superimposed on this formal symmetry are the local contrasts among

neighbouring variations, and—more significantly—a sense of progress and developing complexity throughout the entire series. By comparing the earlier with the later variations, it is easy to see how *Dorabella* gains in complexity over "W.N.", how "G.R.S." represents a subtler contrast than *Troyte*, how the cello of "B.G.N." seems to wander freely according to its own lights, whereas *Ysobel's* viola is closely hedged about by the rhetoric of the original *Enigma* theme, and how "E.D.U." easily encompasses all of the matter of "C.A.E.", "H.D.S.P.", "R.B.T.", and "W.M.B.", and all the others in between as well.

In one case, that of the "R.P.A."—\*\*\*-*Romanza* pairing, there seems to be a loss in the subtlety with which the two contrasting themes are juxtaposed, in the later variation. This was probably necessary because of the actual quotation from Mendelssohn's *Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage* Overture in the *Romanza*. It must be said, however, that a slight loss in structural intensity here is psychologically an excellent means of preparing the listener for the tremendous concentration and climax of "E.D.U."

Elgar's quotation of *Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage* is especially significant if the *Enigma* Variations is considered as a working metaphor of the artist's progress. Falling as it does just before "E.D.U."—which comes to symbolize the artist's successful communication, and the triumph of art—the quotation from Mendelssohn at once acknowledges the artist's debt to his predecessors, and invokes the wish of "God-speed" to the newly-consummated artist on his pilgrimage.

In "E.D.U.", the entire formal and textural logic of the *Enigma* Variations is brought strongly to bear on the conclusion and result of the whole. At this point a lesser composer might have concluded with a kaleidoscopic presentation of the separate matters of many or all of the variations, followed perhaps by a restatement of the theme. However, if Elgar's purpose is, as I have maintained, to depict the course of aesthetic progress, then the resulting cyclical form suggested by the ordinary variations-finale would not suit his purpose. What Elgar has actually done at this point—with wonderful appropriateness—is to give a more rudimentary and essential form of the original *Enigma* theme at the culmination of "E.D.U." (no. 79 in the score):<sup>2</sup>



Elgar has marked the —3— over the first three bars at this point, showing that in essence the theme is one of three beats, not two or four, as it appeared in the initial statement of the theme. The effect of this late transfiguration is to suggest that the initial theme itself has been only a variation of the real theme, quoted above as it appears in the finale.<sup>3</sup> In the initial statement, at the

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the last hundred bars of the score, including this quotation, were added in an altered conclusion of "E.D.U." which Elgar prepared a few months after the first performance. See Powell, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

<sup>3</sup> Thus also, when *Nimrod* is alluded to in "E.D.U." (at no. 68 in the score), it appears in the 4/4 form of "E.D.U.", not the 3/4 of the original *Nimrod*. And the reference to "C.A.E." at no. 73 in the finale appears with the original scoring dramatically metamorphosed by the addition of trumpets and drums.

beginning of the Variations, the primary theme was characterized by a gradual upward progression by means of three- and four-note skips in the minor, and the answering secondary theme by a note-by-note upward progression in the major. In this final statement in the finale, the original primary and secondary themes are seen to be different parts or aspects of the same theme.

Thus, the real theme seems not to have been stated until the conclusion of the piece, and the initial theme and all of the variations preceding "E.D.U." fall into perspective as the symbol of the aesthetic search, of which "E.D.U." becomes, in purely musical terms, the culmination and goal. Viewed in this way, "E.D.U." operates simultaneously on four levels of significance, as does the entire *Enigma* Variations:

- (1) "E.D.U." as Elgar the man, the sum of his friendships, speaking to and through his fellow men.
- (2) "E.D.U." as Elgar the sum of his compositions, the consummated and dedicated artist, the *Enigma*. (And thus, in the history of Elgar's career, nothing could have been more fitting than that he should have achieved his first signal and lasting artistic success with this work.)
- (3) "E.D.U." as the artist successfully moulded by and for his art.
- (4) "E.D.U." as the culmination and successful conclusion of the artistic search.

In our concern with the musical and aesthetic structure of the *Enigma* Variations, we must not neglect the fact that Elgar named each of the Variations after one of his friends. Not that he sought to "portray" each friend in exactly the same sense, for as he makes clear in *My Friends Pictured Within*,<sup>4</sup> some of the Variations refer to particular occasions, others show some special traits of their subjects, while others suggest merely the subjects' belongings, a house ("W.N."), or a dog ("G.R.S."). Each Variation portrays, then, not its subject *in toto*, but rather those aspects of the subject which most interested or affected Elgar himself. Each of an artist's close friends contributes some peculiar and inimitable influence to the finished essence which is the whole man, and thus Elgar is interested not merely in rendering an unconnected series of portraits—this would invite structural chaos—but rather in analyzing, again in terms of a purely musical logic, the special way in which each friendship bears upon the totality which is "E.D.U."

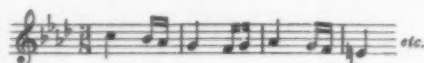
It is a commonplace that Elgar's music represents a stylistic revolution when viewed in the context of music by composers of the preceding generation in England; Parry, Stanford, and Sullivan. But this has not, I think, been sufficiently clearly linked with the fact that Elgar's friends of the *Enigma* Variations were all musical amateurs (if it be granted that Sinclair's bulldog, Dan, is the real subject of "G.R.S.").<sup>5</sup> That the good fellowship and encouragement of these early friends meant more to Elgar as an aspiring composer than the artistic precepts of his musical predecessors, is shown in the fact of Elgar's final rejection of his sketches for a Parry- and a Sullivan-variation. Elgar is

<sup>4</sup> London (Novello & Co.), n.d.

<sup>5</sup> The musical descriptions of "The Moods of Dan" written by Elgar in Dr. Sinclair's "Visitors' Book" from 1897 to 1904 bear witness to the composer's particular affection for this dog. See Percy M. Young, *Elgar O.M.*, London, 1955, pp. 398-401.

saying that these ordinary friends influence the artist's development more subtly and decisively than do the artistic models provided by his predecessors: a view well in accord with Elgar's basically Romantic theory of art and creative inspiration.

It appears to me that Elgar provided a significant key to the meaning of the Enigma by his quotations of the *Enigma* themes in his later Choral Ode, *The Music Makers* (1912). Here the *Enigma* theme is first quoted in the orchestral prelude (at no. 6 in the full score). The value of this quotation is to show how closely the two parts of the *Enigma* theme are akin to the two principal original motives of *The Music Makers*, viz.:



and



This in itself is significant, for it clearly suggests that the *Enigma* theme is somehow related to the idea of music-making, which in O'Shaughnessy's poem becomes a metaphor for the power of all art.

Aside from suggestions and allusions (such as that at no. 76 in *The Music Makers* score), the *Enigma* theme is quoted overtly on three separate occasions in the choral portion of *The Music Makers*. The dialectical relationship among the passages of the poem occurring at these three points is most interesting:

- (1) (3 bars after no. 11): "... sitting by desolate streams",  
(again at no. 14): "... for ever, it seems".
- (2) (at no. 51): (*Enigma* theme quoted in *Nimrod* form):  
"But on one man's soul it hath broken,  
A Light that doth not depart,  
And his look, or a word he hath spoken  
Wrought flame in another man's heart."
- (3) (at no. 75): "... Of the glorious futures we see.  
O Men! It must ever be  
That we dwell in our dreaming and singing  
A little apart . . ."

In these three passages are presented three contrasting views of the artist, or, considered developmentally, three progressive stages in the creative life of the artist. The *Enigma* theme applies equally to all three. The three passages quoted above, occurring in this order, appear to form such an obvious key to the significance of the *Enigma*, that the conclusion that Elgar deliberately arranged them thus for this purpose seems to me inescapable. It is certainly very possible that, after a dozen years of questions concerning the *Enigma*, Elgar in 1912 decided to lay further clues, in *The Music Makers*.

The first passage quoted above, occurring at the beginning of the poem, and only seconds after the first choral entrance in the music, shows the artist lacking



confidence in himself and his material, and awed by the length and arduousness of aesthetic preparation:

"We are the music makers,  
And we are the dreamers of dreams,  
Wand'ring by lone sea-breakers  
And sitting by desolate streams . . ." (1-4).

In the second passage, communication has been established. This quotation of the *Enigma* theme has often been criticized<sup>6</sup> on the grounds that one needs biographical information to catch the allusion to *Nimrod's* inspiration of Elgar.<sup>7</sup> It seems to me, however, that the musical reference here is deliberately ambiguous because, just as *Nimrod* has his existence in the Variations only as a part of the larger "E.D.U." theme, so the process of inspiration referred to here is both *to* and *from* the artist. The man on whose soul the light has broken may be *Nimrod*, but it may also be "E.D.U."; and "another man's heart" may represent Elgar, or the inspired listener. It is the significant fact of aesthetic communication which is here established, and whether *to* or *from* the artist, it is this fact alone which is vital to the creation and continued existence of art. The third passage of the poem quoted above—the point at which the final *Enigma* quotation occurs—deals with the visionary and prophetic powers of the artist, and forms also an oblique commentary on the difficulties which attend him in attempting to live with ordinary men, and especially in modern society: on the one hand, art should be all-powerful; but on the other, the real movers and shakers of the modern world have not cultivated or been influenced by art and the aesthetic process, and the artist has to a great extent been disinherited from his traditional position as prophet and seer.

It is not surprising that Elgar, the last of the great Romantic composers, should have come to an ultimately pessimistic view of himself and his art as early as 1912. One catches overtones of this growing attitude in his letters: above and beyond much bantering self-deprecation, one can sense a deepening pessimism and bewilderment in the letters from about 1904-5 onward. It was this spirit which was shortly to produce the twisted and broken conclusion of *Falstaff*, and a few years later the intense valedictory lyricism of the cello Concerto. But Elgar's growing aesthetic pessimism can be seen most clearly in his treatment of O'Shaughnessy's poem. Elgar concludes his Ode not with O'Shaughnessy's apocalyptic vision of the artist triumphant, but with a significant return to the opening lines of the poem:

"We are the music makers,  
And we are the dreamers of dreams".

For Elgar, by 1912, the *Enigma* of the aesthetic process had become ambiguous indeed.

Elgar is said frequently to have expressed incredulity that nobody had guessed the *Enigma*, for, as he said, the answer was right before everyone from

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Diana McVeagh, *Edward Elgar: His Life and Music*, London, 1955, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> See Elgar, *My Friends Pictured Within*: IX (*Nimrod*).

the beginning. If it is true, as I have argued here, that the Enigma is a metaphor for the artist, symbolized in "E.D.U." himself, then the answer has indeed always been before us. This would also explain Elgar's growing reluctance, as the years passed, to discuss the Enigma and the possibility of its solution. If he had come to feel by 1912 the ambiguous and pessimistic view of his art suggested by the evidence of *The Music Makers*, it is perhaps possible to conceive the tragic and bitter irony with which the triumphant significance of "E.D.U." would have struck him after his wife's death in 1920, when he was writing very little music.

As the years divide us further from Elgar the man, however, the real appropriateness with which Elgar the composer made himself the Enigma, the symbol of art and the creative process, becomes more and more clear. In the magnificent works of the two decades which followed the production of the *Enigma Variations* in 1899, Elgar more than fulfilled the promise of which "E.D.U." was the symbol. This composition is therefore to be looked upon not as a foreshadowing of possible later achievements so much as an intense and living microcosm of the artist's relationship with his art.

## *Anton Webern and the Consciousness of the Time*

BY

CHRISTOPHER HAMPTON

"It is the consciousness of the time which determines the nature of artistic expression which, in turn, reflects the consciousness of the time. The only truly living art form of the present is that which gives expression to the consciousness of the present or of the future". Piet Mondrian.

ANTON WEBERN produced his first works during the first decade of the twentieth century, a time of pomp and splendour and the lavish complacency of the rich; of a highly-glamourized, luxurious art whose techniques and forms had become inadequate to express the new consciousness that was beginning to make itself felt among the creative minority. The harmonic system had long been disintegrating under the dissipating pressures of an extravagant romanticism; music had become diseased and clotted, over-rich and decadent, bloated by its own excess. And then Schönberg, developing a non-tonal harmonic structure, began to clear the ground for a new technique of expression, the later synthesis of which was to become known as the twelve-note system. It was upon this revolutionary basis that Webern, with his taut, severe, stripped, fragmentary style, emerged to lay the cornerstones for the re-establishment of an anti-humanistic and religious art (spiritually akin to the sacred classical art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) which was totally opposed to the spirit of the later nineteenth and early twentieth century music. Webern's sensibility was too finely balanced, his creative intelligence too acute, his artistic intuition too challenged by the discoveries being made beyond all the flourish and largesse to be tempted or taken in by it. His art is a revolutionary insight into its time; anti-sensual and severely controlled in its articulation of Schönberg's dominating theories, it points, even in its early forms, beyond the distractive opulence and seeming prosperity of the surface, to the coming crisis in European civilization; it belongs totally to the twentieth century, as the opulence of Strauss and Elgar and Mahler belongs to the nineteenth; it is part (as that opulence is not) of the consciousness of its time. And once such revolutionary insight has been achieved, it is impossible, without falsifying that consciousness, to ignore it, to go back beyond it in an adherence to the forms and styles it has superseded.

Webern's art, in common with that of other great artists (Cezanne, for instance, and Picasso, Mondrian, Stravinsky, Schönberg and Eliot) rejects as false "that bygone concept of man in harmony with himself" which is the illusion that society would attempt to uphold, even in the face of universal conflict. "What . . . our tragic modern art is sweeping away" writes Malraux,

"... is primarily that monstrous clot of lies with which civilization stifles the voice of destiny". It is a "frontal attack on Western optimism", upon the myths (both Russian and American) of democracy, of the great, shining chromium-plated future that has been conjured up for "mankind"; the lurid streamlined vision of man as a huge business-and-politics-organized fraternity.

"Every authentic work of art devotes its means (even the most brutal) to the service of some part of Man passionately or obscurely sponsored by the artist. . . . We must not confuse our pin-up girls with Greek or Indian nudes, whose sexual implications—different as these were in Greece and India—associate Man with the Cosmos. There is no such thing as a styleless art, and every style implies a significance of Man, his orientation by a supreme value, overt or immanent. . . . But (the arts of) delectation—(illustrative, anecdotal painting, the photograph, the cinema, the hit-song, *etc.*, of the twentieth century)—are not concerned with values, only with sensations and thus with moments only; whereas true arts and cultures relate Man to duration, sometimes to eternity, and make of him something other than the most-favoured denizen of a universe founded on absurdity." André Malraux.

Webern sought to concentrate, to strip, to intensify, rather than to expand; to catch the vibrations of the inner reality (the life of the spirit) rather than to embellish the patterns of the surface; to have done with the charade. He is not interested in sound for the sake of sensational effect, but only for the sake of the total form; each note has its integral, exact place in the structure of each work. And his art is in this sense akin to poetry, to a poetry that has cut out all rhetoric and repetition, all effect and enlargement, all gesture that has in it the theatrical impurities of the surface. Though within each note, each fragmentary phrase, there may exist the potential material for an extended work, Webern constantly resists the temptation to extend and therefore to dilute and compromise and falsify. He refuses (with what restraint, what discipline, what clarity of vision) to falsify that inner judgment which seeks to communicate the essences of form and structure rather than an excess of sound.

His work makes the bulk of twentieth century music—the music of the imitators, the traditionalists, the harmonists, that "modern" art which finds its way into the repertoires of the big professional orchestras—sound indulgent and slack, pretentious and compromised. For it seems to speak (as theirs does not) a language of the inner consciousness of its time, a language that, once heard by those who care for art as a concentrated formal and structural metamorphosis of the pattern of reality, cannot be ignored; that by its attainment of a unified style, confirms the line of great art from its beginnings in mediaeval church music through the Renaissance and the Vienna period to Wagner, and confirms it in the deepest sense (in which it is like all these other arts creative) rather than in the shallow uncreative sense (in which traditionalists and imitators attempt to carry on, to confirm the past). An art worthy of the Netherlands composers, of Palestrina, Vittoria, Monteverdi, Bach or Beethoven, would need to have created a style, a structural and formal logic of its own to correspond with the unique and tragic realities of its time. It would need to have rejected as inoperative the techniques and forms discovered for the nineteenth century, to have freed itself, by its own articulate forms, of the dominating influence of the great masters of the past, and to have become

renewed at the source from within itself; at that inner source which is common to all art and confirms the continuity and the relation between outwardly disparate styles and forms; that inner source which concentrates the energy and determines the substance of the "forms of truth"—which is to say, those forms emerging as organic and genuine symbols of the Culture to which they belong.

Between the orchestral pieces of *opus* 6, for instance, and the Cantatas of *opus* 30—between, that is, the early fragmentary style and the final synthesis of that style as an intense, taut lyricism determined by the composer's obsessive exploitation of the resources of the human voice—there is a fundamental unity of development. All that is so highly focussed in the last works is already potential in the first. An organic, creative style in its development reflects the composer's deepening insight into the properties and patterns of sound and the elements of structure; into rhythmic subtleties (the internal coherence of relationship between apparently unrelated rhythmic motives); contrapuntal texture (as determined by the use of intricate canonic devices); and melodic line (with its contrasting dispositions of instrumental and vocal pattern).

Upon the stabilizing but rigid discipline of the 12-note system, Webern was able to impose the elemental discipline of a creative personality, and thereby to bring into being a style at once uniquely centred, binding and exact. Sonority, colour, rhythmic and dynamic pattern are exploited with a characteristic economy in the orchestral pieces of *opus* 6, and the articulation of a tenuous fragmentary line gives the work an extraordinary intensity. But in the Cantatas it is a contrapuntal melodic texture that is exploited, with an economy and mastery of instrumental and vocal means that make the *opus* 6 sound almost opulent. Within the terms of serial technique (which, however, serves Webern's purposes, and is frequently modified to the expressive demands of his creative insight) the composer shapes an extraordinarily subtle melodic and rhythmic pattern from the interaction between the vocal and instrumental lines, and particularly in the lyrical intensity of the voice parts. These works are indeed a high achievement of his art; for out of the in itself sterile and arbitrary discipline of the 12-note serial system he has created a formal and textural unity which has its own logic and stability. Only a master (as many of his imitators and emulators have no doubt found to their cost) can achieve such richness within such compression, such stylistic unity, such concentrated and totally organized form. For the problem is to give unity and emotive significance to sounds apparently patternless and discontinuous and far apart. Webern set out to solve the most forbidding and severe problems, and he achieved their solution in an unwavering adherence to the inner demands of his artistic vision. Each work is in itself a solution, but the real triumph over these problems manifests itself in the attainment of style, the ultimate gauge for which is not the single work alone but the whole output of an artist's creative life; and Webern's output reveals this triumphantly.

His mastery was of course evident even in the early works; in the sure grasp of the essences of form; in the incessant exploitation of the problems of vocal line and instrumental texture, and of the quality of sound itself in its various tonal levels and contrasts (isolated or in combination), juxtaposed with the silence that surrounds it. Indeed, Webern's language (like that of every great artist in sound) is profoundly related to the silence out of which it is formed and without which it would be impossible. But in particularly significant ways; for by reason of his fragmentary, interrupted line and its discontinuous patterns, one is made uniquely and acutely conscious of the condition of silence as an integral part of the form; a silence which is an equivalent of that which might be presumed to exist beneath and within the chaos of the outer world; a silence (in which the spirit has its repose) at the "still point of the turning world" which, as Eliot has written, is neither "flesh nor fleshless" and which nourishes and transforms the concept of time.

Webern's art, by means of its discontinuous patterns which destroy the old rigid metric divisions that bind us to time as an almost physical presence, by its assertion of an order which makes plastic use of time in order to conquer it, attains release into that condition of eternity toward which all art aspires. It is not merely that Webern has imposed upon the outer world a new vision of form, an order fertilizing and transforming temporal values; beyond that he has intimated as the organic centre of his art, as its ultimate pivot, the stillness and silence at the "still point of the turning world".

His lyricism is of another kind altogether than the lyricism of composers like Mahler (by whom, however, he was influenced in his early years) or Tchaikovsky, who would conceive the lyrical as a characteristically sustained, continuous line which confirmed the metricality of time and the primacy of sound over silence. Webern's is angular and fragmented, and attains its characteristic eloquence from the silence into which the line breaks off; or it is attained by a relationship of single notes (or tiny motives) placed at varying dynamic levels and disposed among contrasting instruments, as a lyricism of texture and instrumental juxtaposition, through which again the silence breathes. Each note, each seemingly discontinuous fragment, each timbre, has the kind of intensity that words and phrases achieve in poetry when they are treated as atomic entities modifying the relations of time and space and silence. Everything is exactly focussed according to its proximity to, its action upon and its emergence from within, silence; it is this that determines the urgency, the lyricism, the dramatic impact of the music. Other composers had, on the whole, conceived silence only as a factor implicit within dynamic contrasts, behind the rise and fall in the intensity of the phrase, or as a definition between continuous sections of a form; as a breath, a hiatus, clarifying the completion of a sentence; and of course as a basis; but rarely as an explicit element in the pattern, the sentence itself. Their works are founded upon a continuity of patterns and relationships, upon a metric system; Webern's music might almost be termed a-metric; its rhythms are continually asserting or implying the rhythm, the tone, the texture, the form, of silence.

Peter Stadlen has written that, when before the war he studied the Piano



Variations with Webern, the composer treated silences with the most meticulous attention. In this piece, for instance, there occur two bars, the second of which is a rest, marked *accelerando*. "Whenever we got to this spot, Webern would not only conduct my playing of the first bar but would continue to count out in a loud and excited voice the three *accelerando* beats of the rest bar. . . . He would then pause before continuing to conduct my playing of the next, slower, bar".

Stadlen is, of course, implying that this was unnecessary. An *accelerando* silence with a pause! What, he might have asked, does it matter how it is marked or acknowledged so long as the silence is defined! But obviously it did matter to Webern. The silence had attained a rhythmic urgency, a form, of its own, dictated by the preceding and succeeding patterns of sound. And whether or not for performance it is possible to gauge that form exactly now that the composer is dead, the fact remains that it was not to be regarded merely as a gap, a pause, but as an integral part of the form of the music, calculated and organized as intently as every note in the score.

"For weeks on end", Mr. Stadlen continues, Webern "had spent countless hours trying to convey to me every nuance of performance down to the finest detail"—even to the calculation of silences. "I was amazed to see him treat those few scrappy notes as if they were cascades of sound".

This last sentence, though written, I take it, as a derogatory comment, gives us a valuable hint as to Webern's approach to his art. It seems to tell us that Webern treated his "few scrappy notes" as "cascades" in the same sense in which the poet treats the few "scrappy" words of his poem as if they extended far beyond their literal surface meaning. These few scrappy notes are, in fact, contractions of meaning. For Webern's art is an art of reduction, of essences. Doubtless he could have elaborated and extended *ad nauseam*; doubtless in the process of creating his work he would have heard within himself many possible works germinating in a single phrase; or extended patterns which (in a refusal to indulge himself) he chose ultimately to reduce to single phrases; he had no use for kitchen sinks, baubles and fancy headgear. If he had not possessed the severe judging vision, a creative sensibility that conceived sound in terms of compression, as an acute focus for the expression of a ruthless, uncompromising vision of form, he might have been more prolific; but in that case he would not have been Webern, nor would he have created an art of such intensity; he would have been a lesser artist.

In prefacing this brief examination of Webern's art with a quotation from a statement made by Piet Mondrian, I was not making a fortuitous choice. It seems to me—though this may be no more than pure conjecture—that the two artists followed a kind of parallel course. It is not that they are in any way similar; each speaks a language of his own, and creates an art totally in accordance with the laws and limitations of that language—the one visual and spatial, determined by the area of the canvas, the other aural and temporal, determined by the silence. But there is a profound, interior correspondence

between the work of these two artists, a correspondence of vision. For, as Mondrian has said, "it is the internal life, its strength and joy, which determines form in art", and the internal life of both artists was conditioned and strengthened by a period common to both of them, a period inherent with crisis, with restless intellectual discovery and creative experiment, and with all those obscure, inanalysable motives which would define the "consciousness of the time", that "determines the nature of artistic expression". Their work developed and matured around the same period; they both died in the 1940s, unaccepted and unhonoured, except by the minority; and since their deaths have been acknowledged as masters. But more particularly and significantly, they both conceived expression in terms of essences, and imposed the most severe limitations upon themselves in the attainment of style—Webern by concentration within the rigours of the 12-note system and the fragmentary motive conditioned by silence; and Mondrian by concentration upon the vertical and horizontal line, the square produced by the interaction, and the juxtaposition of primary colours. Both held unwaveringly to their means of expression, and discovered within those severe limitations an intensity of feeling, a lyricism, a world of form, a style, that they might have been supposed to be incapable of yielding.

They spurned traditional methods of communicating their inner world, and sought instead to embody it with the greatest economy of forms, uncompromisingly, purging and purifying it of all hybrid, distractive and superficial elements in order to arrive at the pure expression of style. Their art, in common with that of other great artists of the twentieth century, is an implicit challenge to the accepted values of the time; it rejects these values as false and corrupt, and transcends them. The harmonic system, the imitative, "anecdotal" picture, the descriptive poem, had become obsolete; they had served their purposes and played themselves out; they were of use now only as means to satisfy the anaemic, escapist mentality of the "public", to express the false, rigid values of the surface. They had something to give only to those who wished to live in the mental atmosphere of the fairy-tale, to evade the reality of their world, to see themselves under a glamorous aura of myth believing in an optimistic, re-assuring future or an embellished past—Venus (in the form of some delectable film-star) sensuously beckoning from her facile nakedness and from another world, or the bright-cheeked proletarian looking out upon the clinical, neatly organized future created pure and whole for him by the politicians, the utopists of democracy.

The society painters, the academicians, the harmonists, the "laureate" poets, will continue no doubt to supply the public with what it wants, the skin-deep uncreative forms determined by convention, turned out in their individual variations of the master-copies of the past, and discovering nothing. Meanwhile the artist settles himself more deeply into the creative centres of his art, groping toward truth, seeking the forms of that truth in the struggle with a world that is blind to it; seeking form, truth and reality by means of the high, taut, pure forms in which the sensational, fat, utopian, social dream will have no place; forms which give us the measure of humanity not in terms of

the false debasing jargon of popular democracy, but in terms of the unpopular language of the inner life.

And if the society of the modern democratic world sees fit to sponsor and acclaim the sensational fat utopian dream, the lie of the surface, and to reject the visionary forms of art, then the artist will work if he must (and as he has) without its recognition, refusing the compromise that its recognition would entail. He is not out to court the public, to pander to the mass, to provoke (in satisfying the sensational demand) a squeal of pleasure, but to create a form for truth, to maintain the stability of that inner world upon which, as André Malraux has it, "successive civilizations have based their commerce with the cosmos and with death, and from which all man's great achievements have sprung"; and through his art, to relate "Man to duration, sometimes to eternity", to make "of him something other than the most-favoured denizen of a universe founded on absurdity".

## "Abt"

BY

ROBERT E. MIDDLETON

WHILE Alfred Tarnhelm has an impressive number of compositions to his credit, his name is never to be found on the list of active contemporary composers. One need not search long for an explanation of this fact, for Alfred Tarnhelm has made no attempts to capture public sympathy. Nor does his originality make him acceptable to any followers of the existing schools of composition. He continues to work away quietly at his remote farmhouse in Iowa, unconcerned that his music is never performed and that it cannot, therefore, be appreciated.

Starting from the premise that there has been too much ambiguity in contemporary composition, Tarnhelm has struggled to achieve definiteness of meaning in his music. He has evolved a personal idiom after much trial and error, and has solved the difficult problems of notation, meaning, and style which have plagued composers for generations. After writing numerous utilitarian pieces in traditional serial techniques, Tarnhelm instinctively felt that these paths led to limited objectives, and that something more purified was needed. It was not until he was half-way through his remarkable setting of *The Odyssey* that he realized the significance of his discovery. He describes his reaction to a friend:

"I was overcome, and could not continue creative work for a period of months. Then came the problem of finding a name for my new system. It occurred to me that musical terminology of this type falls more naturally and impressively into German, so I entitled my system 'Alphabetierungsteknik', or 'ABT' as a convenient abbreviation".

"Alphabetierungsteknik" is so simple that it forever removes the chief curse of musical composition. Formerly, years of training and conditioning had to be devoted to preparation for a composing career, but it is now within the realm of everyday possibility for anyone to achieve impressive results. Tarnhelm's contribution to music in this respect alone is noteworthy.

The rules for "ABT" are easy to learn.

1. The first seven notes of the alphabet correspond to the seven diatonic notes of the scale. How tenaciously tradition survives even though the technique is so advanced!





5. The word is *always* written *horizontally*. What ridiculous confusion inversions, retrogrades, and verticals create:



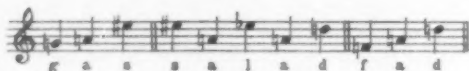
6. Two or three sentences may be combined to make counterpoint. But meaning is never ambiguous. The "ABT" is always present; any lack of "ABT" becomes conspicuous by its absence.

In such a short article as this, other aspects of Tarnhelm's technique cannot be discussed. His "Kontrapunktuation" and his concepts of the "Cadentia-graph" and the Wordbeat need lengthier comment and detailed reference to his numerous scores. But it can be pointed out here that Tarnhelm *has* revolutionized nuance. "I use only two nuances, *forte* and *piano*. The determining factor is whether the letter is capitalized or not. (Capital letters are *forte*, small case letters *piano*.) My "preludes from e e cummings" are perhaps the first pieces to have no change of nuance whatsoever". How grateful we are to be taken back to the days of cleaner scores.

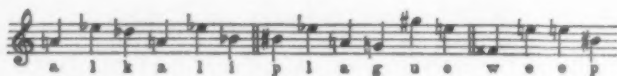
Tarnhelm does go not out on a limb completely concerning theoretical study. He firmly believes that some practice is necessary before the best results can be achieved, but he is of the opinion that

"too much theoretical training has the tendency to stifle the creative urge. With ABT this tragedy seldom occurs, for urge can be translated into action almost instantly".

Tarnhelm suggests the following exercises for beginners. Start with simple words and musicalize them ten times each, *e.g.*

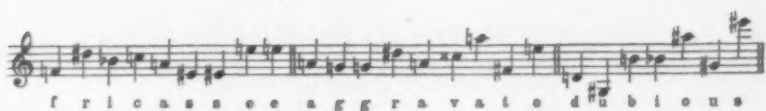


Then try slightly more complicated words:





The student eventually masters the more difficult materials:



# The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn:<sup>1</sup> Addenda and Corrigenda (II)

BY

H. C. ROBBINS LONDON

[Continued from volume XIX, p. 319.]

P. 533: Five lines from the bottom, remove period after word "by".

P. 541: Line 7, after the first name ("Leanders") add: "[sc. Leander]"; obviously the horn player so often listed in the London concerts is meant.

P. 546: Haydn's benefit concert (4th May, 1795): Although the contemporary newspapers do not have a detailed programme, Mr. Albi Rosenthal of Oxford owns the hand-bill to this concert—the only one of a Haydn-Salomon concert known to exist today. The hand-bill is printed on both sides of a tall folio sheet, and includes the texts of all the vocal numbers given, as a result of which the very complicated history of the Duet (sung by Morichelli and Morelli) can be solved. Before proceeding to the Duet, we should like to point out that Mr. Rosenthal's document is enhanced by a number of comments which someone—possibly a critic—penned on the margins: of the "Military" Symphony, for example, the writer notes "nice, but very noisy". These amusing comments also reveal something of the way in which Haydn performed his London Symphonies: the *forte* passages were certainly not played in the wilting orchestral *mezzo forte* favoured by some modern conductors, who apparently think that music before Beethoven was never very loud.

Let us begin with the entry in Haydn's diary, which has been preserved only in Griesinger's biography. I have again examined the passage in question, and while the German punctuation leaves some doubt, it now seems to me that line 3 ought to read as follows: "(Rovedino); Concerto (Ferlancy) for the first time; Duet (Morichelli and Morelli) by me . . ."; in other words, it was the Concerto and not the Duet which was played "for the first time". The point is significant in view of that which follows.

Haydn's opera, *Orlando Paladino* (1782), includes a Duet between Eurilla and Pasquale on the text, "Quel tuo visetto amabile" (B flat, 2/4). Apparently the piece soon became very popular as a separate number, for it was printed in piano-vocal score by Torricella (copy in the Library of Congress, Washington)<sup>2</sup> and circulated in manuscript copies: the Paris Conservatoire owns a MS. score on which the work is listed as having been performed at the Teatro S. Moisè, Venice, in 1794. When Haydn went to England, he seems to have taken the Duet with him, for when the Italian opera at King's Theatre staged Da Ponte's *Il burbero di buon cuore* on 17th May, 1794, the performance included Haydn's Duet as one of the inserted numbers, but with a new text, "Quel cor umano e tenero". The opera was given with additional music by "Haydn, Trento and G. C. Ferrari", and the *Oracle*, writing of the performance, says: ". . . Of the music, what was in the best possible style was a Duo between Morelli and Morichelli, written by the excellent Haydn".<sup>3</sup> The new

<sup>1</sup> London, 1955: Rockliff and Universal Edition; New York City, 1955: Macmillan.

<sup>2</sup> M.1552, A.2. H.2. The title, in an ornate frame, reads: "Duette Aires [Quel tuo visetto amabile &c.] Composée et accomodée pour Le Clavecin Par M<sup>r</sup> Ios. Haydn Dediée [sic] A. Son Altesse Madame la Princesse Charlotte Lehnowsky nee Comtesse Althan par son tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur Christoph Toricella . . . Publiée [sic] et se vend a Vienne chez Christoph Toricella". Thus it would seem that Haydn also made the piano reduction.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Loewenberg, "Lorenzo da Ponte in London", *MUSIC REVIEW*, IV/3 (August, 1943), pp. 177 f. and *Annals of Opera*, 2nd ed., p. 546.

version was printed in full score by Corri and Dussek.<sup>4</sup> In a copy of Dussek's "[Second] Grand Concerto in F . . . as Performed at the Professional [and] Salomon's Concerts [and] King's Theatre Haymarket" (B.M., g. 452. [9.]), Corri and Dussek print their newest catalogue, in which, under "New Vocal Music Opera Songs" of 1794, "Haydens Duetto" is listed at 3 shillings.

Now one would have expected that the performance of the Duet at Haydn's benefit concert in 1795 would have followed the new text; but the hand-bill shows us that Haydn reverted to the original words, "Quel tuo visetto": music is always best suited to the words for which it is originally composed, and Haydn probably felt that his Duet was best served by "Quel tuo visetto" and not by "Quel cor umano e tenero".

P. 551: Text under illustration, line 2: For "British Museum [etc.]" read "Library of Congress, Washington". The B.M. document concerns the rights of the first six Salomon Symphonies, not the last six.

P. 553: Last paragraph, line 3: For "1788" read "1789".

P. 554: N. 4: Add the following sentence: "But it can also refer to No. 92, which was probably played in the 1791 series (cf. Hoboken Cat., p. 175)".

P. 557: N. 8: Add: "Meanwhile I have shown this work to be by Friedrich Witt: see 'The Jena Symphony', MUSIC REVIEW XVIII/2 (May, 1957)".

P. 559, lines 2-3. Haydn was in Eisenstadt during the Summer (see his letter to Luigia Polzelli, dated 21st June); although he bought the house at Gumpendorf, he immediately set about having it enlarged and remodelled and did not actually settle there till after his second return from London in the Summer of 1795.

P. 560: Last paragraph: Professor J. P. Larsen recently discovered the only complete copy of Haydn's *L'anima del filosofo* among the uncatalogued music in the Paris Conservatoire. Although I could only briefly examine the manuscript (a photograph is in the archives of the Joseph Haydn Institut, Cologne), I am able to state that our proposed chronological order has proved to be correct. The Paris source, which is in four volumes, includes one *secco* which we did not have—linking the Death Scene of Euridice (ending in E flat) with the D major beginning of Orfeo's big *scena*, in the Second Act. The MS. also includes the Overture (see also p. 566). Despite this evidence, I do not believe that the Overture was written originally for *Orfeo*, but that Haydn, wanting to make his opera available for performances, simply inserted it later so that the work would have a proper beginning.

P. 566: Paragraph 2: see *supra*, p. 560.

Concerning Section 3 (pp. 566 ff.), "Melodic Origins . . .", a good deal remains to be said. Certain critics seem to think that because I believe Kuhač's theory as to the folk-song origin of certain of Haydn's melodies, I am again trying to prove that Haydn was a Croatian. Anyone who has studied E. F. Schmid's authoritative work on the subject,<sup>5</sup> however, must know that Haydn came of German-speaking peasant stock, and that he had no Croatian, Hungarian, Gipsy or any other kind of Slavonic blood in his veins. But no amount of philistine chauvinism and no attempts to besmirch Kuhač (whether his name was originally Koch or not) will, I fear, alter the profoundly Slavonic character of some of Haydn's melodies. We must qualify the amount of melodies in which such Eastern European elements are predominant: they represent but a fraction of his total output and are always a deliberate "exotic excursion" (if I may borrow the excellent term from my colleague, Professor Bence Szabolcsi, whose extensive paper on "Haydn and the National Folk-Song of Hungary"<sup>6</sup> will be read at the Haydn Congress in Budapest this year). The point is that these Eastern elements are clearly apparent in several of Haydn's London Symphonies; it is also curious that the Trio in G for pianoforte, violin and cello

<sup>4</sup> Copy in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest, from Haydn's own collection. Dr. A. van Hoboken kindly provided me with a microfilm of the print.

<sup>5</sup> *Joseph Haydn, Ein Buch von Vorfahren und Heimat des Meisters*, Kassel, 1934.

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Professor Szabolcsi for letting me read this paper on the occasion of a recent research trip to Budapest (Autumn, 1958).

(Larsen No. 25; B. & H. and Peters No. 1), which contains the famous "Rondo in the gipsy style", was written in England. And in the case of the "Gipsy Rondo", Haydn's source—which definitely predates the trio—has been discovered.<sup>7</sup> The reason for this sudden appearance of Slavonic folk-melodies in Haydn's London period is not, I think, as mysterious as might at first be thought: probably the English public had had very little opportunity to hear this "exotic" music, and when Haydn tried it out, he found that it was very popular with the "nobility and gentry" and then proceeded to repeat the mixture as before.

The trouble with all scientific research into the folk-melodies of Haydn's time is that almost nothing was written down. Kuhač's enemies—and they extend from Germany and Austria to East Forty-Third Street in New York City—will thus contend: the peasants took the melodies from Haydn. Leaving aside the chronological question for a moment, it is quite obvious to anyone familiar with Eastern European folk-music that the beginning of Symphony No. 103/II (cf. Ex. 1, p. 568), with its sequence g-c-e $\flat$ -f $\sharp$ -g, is profoundly *osteuropäisch*: Zoltán Kodály, with whom this part of the book formed a recent discussion in Budapest, says it is Hungarian; the Turks say it is Turkish; the Poles, Polish; and Kuhač maintains that it is Croatian. Actually, it is all of that; for the melodic line is the common property of all Eastern European peoples. It is very doubtful if we shall ever find an old dated manuscript from which we can prove that Haydn did in fact use an old folk-tune as the basis for the Symphony; but the fact of the tune's Slavonic character is clear and incontrovertible.

The next point concerns melodies which Kuhač maintains are Croatian, but which do not have any particularly strong Eastern European flavour: the opening of Symphony No. 103/IV (cf. p. 568, Ex. 1e) is of this sort. Whereas the very notes of Ex. 1a are Slavonic in character, neither the notes nor the melodic curve of Ex. 1e are necessarily based on a folk-tune; on the contrary, they appear to be a typical product of Haydn's own late-period style—one of those melodies which are ideally fitted for motivic development (the

♩ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♩ ♪ is the kind of figure which is pregnant with rhythmic possibilities, and one which is characteristic of all Haydn's music). Here, the possibility of the Croatian peasants having borrowed Haydn's tune and adapted it for their needs does not seem as impossible as in the case of No. 103/II. Recently, Mr. Fritz Spiegl drew my attention to the fact that at least three mechanical organs known to him contain the tune, slightly altered in certain small details, of the finale of Haydn's Symphony No. 100 in G ("Military"—1794). This was of course very exciting news: the little organs usually entitled the tune "Lord Cathcart" or "Cathcart", and armed with this information, I sent the whole evidence to Mr. A. Hyatt King of the British Museum, who passed it on to the English Folk Dance and Song Society. Mr. S. Jackson, the Society's Librarian, writes as follows:

"... I have found "Lord Cathcart" as a country dance in two collections; and also the tune in one of our nineteenth-century MS. tune books. Details as follows:

LORD CATHCART—

as LORD CATHCART'S WELCOME in *Treasures of Terpsichore* . . . being a Collection of all the most popular Country Dances . . . together with all the new Dances for 1809. By T. Wilson, London, 1809.

as LORD CATHCART'S WELCOME TO SCOTLAND in *Wheatstone's Selection of Elegant and Fashionable Country Dances, Reels, Waltzes [sic], etc. for the Ensuing Season, with an Accompt. for the Piano Forte or Harp by Augs. Voigt. etc.* Sold by C. Mitchell, at his Musical Circulating Library and Instrument Ware rooms, 51, Southampton Row, Russel [sic] Sqre. (n.d., but between 1808–1814).

as LORD CATHCART in a manuscript book of country dance tunes, etc. which is not earlier than the first decade or so of the nineteenth century.

Lord Cathcart is presumably Sir William Shaw, tenth Baron Cathcart, and first Viscount and Earl Cathcart (1755–1843) who after a distinguished military career was

<sup>7</sup> I refer to Professor Szabolcsi's forthcoming paper.

created Viscount Cathcart in 1807 and appointed C. in C. Scotland presumably in the same year.

... It does seem ... that the country dance, and country dance tune, "Lord Cathcart" did not appear before about 1808. ... At present it seems that "Lord Cathcart" is derived from Haydn's melody rather than vice versa".

Last Spring (1958), I was examining a pile of anonymous music in the shop of Mr. Hermann Baron, London, to whom I am indebted for many kindnesses. In an incomplete MS. of songs, *etc.*, I found an old copy of "Lord Cathcart's Wee" (as it is entitled on the MS.), which Mr. Baron very kindly presented to me. A photograph of the dance is shown overleaf. The paper on which the MS. is written is English in origin and contains the dated watermark "1807".

Here, then, would seem to be strong evidence that the tunes of Haydn's works actually made their way into the world not only in the concert hall but, arranged as dances, in the parlour and ball room. The fact is not surprising if we remember that Mozart's *Figaro* became so popular in Prague that when Mozart arrived there to produce *Don Giovanni* he was delighted to hear his *Figaro* arranged as dance music. In fact, he himself arranged "Non più andrai" as a Country Dance (K.609, no. 1).

Having shown how the situation works, as it were, in reverse, we can also demonstrate at least one case (apart from that of the "Gipsy Rondo" mentioned above) in which written evidence supports the Kuhač theory.

P. 264, Ex. 21 and p. 351, Ex. 3g list a melody which Haydn used at least twice, in an early *Divertimento* (c. 1761) and in Symphony No. 60 (1774); the first part of the tune also appears in the Sextet in E flat for 2 horns and strings (original and authentic version of the Quartet Op. 2, No. 3). I proposed that it was a "favourite Slavonic melody" (p. 353), but I never expected to find any written evidence of my supposition. Two years ago however, while on a research trip through Southern Germany, I examined the music archives in the Monastery of Metten, on the Danube. The archives were in a state of indescribable confusion, as is unfortunately the case in many Austrian and German monasteries after World War II, and there was no opportunity to copy anything properly, since it was late in a winter's afternoon and there were no electric lights in the room where the music was kept. In a pile of early eighteenth-century concerti (Wagenseil, Hofmann, *etc.*) I came across a very early and curious manuscript for violin solo consisting of three little anonymous pieces, one of which turned out to be the melody in question. There was a text added (obviously the piece was a popular song) but in a language I did not know. The archives were in the *clausura*, and after considerable searching, I found several monks who kindly tried to assist me in deciphering the words; but in vain. The beginning seems to be "Naf es tarristem", but until I can return and photograph the document, a proper scientific evaluation of its importance must wait. (I have not since been able to get an answer out of the Monastery.) The episode shows, however, we may yet discover considerably more information about the origins of Haydn's Eastern European melodies than we had hitherto dared to hope.

P. 569: Line 1: Read "1939, p. 4 . . .".

P. 569: Line 6: Read "... cites the cry as 'Red Hot Buns' . . ." (not 'Hot Cross Buns').

P. 573: Concerning the slow introductions in the tonic minor, Dr. Roger Fiske points out that tonic minor *Adagio* introductions, especially in the key of D minor, were very popular with English composers of the year 1794; Dr. Fiske considers it likely that the introductions of Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 101 and 104 derive their particular musical language from similar *Adagios* in English music of the period. Chronologically, too, Dr. Fiske is able to prove that the English works precede Haydn's. We know altogether far too little about the English music being produced during Haydn's London visits, and we hope that Dr. Fiske, who is an acknowledged expert, will throw some much-needed light on this subject.

P. 579: Third music ex—add *fs* under first note of last bar.



"Lord Cathcart's Wee"

from a contemporary manuscript in the author's collection



P. 597: In list of Masses at the bottom of the page: The autograph of the *Missa* ("Schopfungsmesse") was unknown to my friend and colleague, Professor Larsen, and when I brought it to his attention, he persuaded Herr G. Henie to purchase the manuscript; subsequently, the autograph was donated to the Bavarian State Library (1956).

## APPENDICES

*General remarks:* With the appearance of Hoboken's Catalogue, part of the appendices' *raison d'être* has ceased to exist, especially in that which concerns the printed sources. On the other hand, the evaluation of the sources, and the detailed description of the manuscripts may continue to be of some use to musicians and scholars. Thus I shall include, in the forthcoming list, additional manuscripts, but only in so far as they are missing both in Hoboken and in my book. In particular, I have since uncovered a substantial number of MS. sources confirming the correct or probable authors of the symphonies listed in Appendix II, and these sources may be of use to scholars doing research in the fields of eighteenth-century symphonists apart from Haydn. I have not listed under the *corrigenda* the more exact dates for printed editions which Hoboken has been able to include, partly as a result of Carl Johansson's magnificent research into French publishers of the period, and partly by a number of hitherto unknown publishers' announcements.

The three principal collections of MS. sources to Haydn's symphonies which are not evaluated in my book are: (1) the so-called "Frankfurt Collection", which Ewald Lassen recently discovered in the Frankfurt-am-Main Stadtbibliothek, despite constant attempts on the part of the library and its musical director ("the MSS. cannot be of much value, since they are of known works") to prevent him from doing so. I have included the one manuscript copy which is positively authentic, and written on Esterházy paper (see *supra*, p. 34); and also some important *corrigenda* to the Frankfurt sources in Appendix II; but a full evaluation of the collection's importance, textually and otherwise, must await the detailed publication which Mr. Lassen is now preparing. (2) The Haydn collection in the archives of the Palacio Real in Madrid, which Professor Jan LaRue brought to light in 1956. I have included one or two interesting points from this large collection, but its proper evaluation, too, must be made at a later date. (3) The Haydn sources in Czechoslovakia. Recent reports indicate that various libraries throughout that country contain vitally important and hitherto unexamined MS. Haydn sources. The Hoboken Catalogue includes some of the MSS. in Prague and elsewhere but of course gives no idea of their importance, textual or otherwise. The full report on these sources must await the detailed investigation which the author hopes to be able to make in the near future.

Pp. 612 f.: No. 22 is not "MA" but "AM" and was produced by the North Italian paper mill of Andrea Mattizzoli. The "GF", "GV" and "GFA" papers are probably all from the mill of Galvani Fratelli in Pordenone. See Jan LaRue, "Die Datierung von Wasserzeichen im 18. Jahrhundert" (Vienna Musicological Congress, 1956: "Beispiele", p. 3). No. 22 and No. 62: for "half-cup" read "bow". The "C" found in many Italian watermarks means "Cartelleria" (paper mill).

P. 614: Group VI: Probably paper from the mill of I. G. Zug in Lower Austria. Group VIII (title)—read: "German paper mills, mostly at Wolfegg, Augsburg and Nürnberg". Nos. 4 and 6 from the mill of Johann Anton Unold, Wolfegg. Nos. 9-14 from the mill of Johann Christoph Bernhaupt, Simmelsdorf (Nürnberg).

P. 615: Source 5, line 5: Read "'AST"—cf. No. 3, source 4 . . .".

P. 616 (Symphony No. 2): Add source (2a) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 38, 34; title-page lost; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str. Two copyists: (a) vln. I, II; (b) Frater Kramel, who made the other pts. 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster paper mill (watermarks: letters "IAW" on one part of the sheet, an eagle on the other). An important early source, probably the MS. on which (1) was based: the reverse is unlikely, because the present parts do not duplicate Lambach's inconsistencies, e.g. I, bar 6 (see *infra*). Source of local origin, c. 1760-1768.

P. 624 ff.: Pts. of Nos. 6-8 from what we believe to be the former Kees Collection are in the Monastery of St. Peter, Salzburg (see *supra*, p. 38). No title-page extant. The title at the head of each part generally reads: "Tre / Sinfonie, Conctz / Del Sig: Jos: Haydn [red ink: 'N° 80.81.82'] Le Matin Le Midi Le Soir". "Sinfonia LXXX" etc. (see p. 38). For each Symphony there are 3 vln. I, 3 vln. II, 2 vla., 2 basso and one each of the other pts. 4° brownish paper, probably of Viennese origin, end of the eighteenth century.

P. 633: Source 4: I have since restored the false title to its proper file. The wind parts of No. 12 are missing.

P. 635: Source 8: No oboe parts.

P. 641: Under date of comp., Symphony No. 17, "Earliest ref." add "Moravian Church Archives, Winston Salem, North Carolina—dated 1766. The MS. parts, made by the Moravian composer J. F. Peter, include 2 ob., 2 cor., str".

P. 651: Symphony No. 23: Under "Cat. ref." last entry, for "parts lost" read "fragments extant".

P. 658: Source 8: For "1769" read "1786". See Martha Bruckner, 'Eine unbekannte Haydn-Sinfonie' (in: *Mitteilungen aus dem Baron Brukenthalischen Museum* XI [1946], pp. 8 ff.).

P. 662 (Symphony No. 30): Add correction to G.A.—2nd movt., bar 1, V. I, II 4th note c°.

P. 665: Add † to No. 33 (MGM Records, U.S.A.).

P. 669 (Symphony No. 35): Source 16: The first horn part of the Welcker print has a simplified reading in the recapitulation (where in the original the horn plays a run up to g' or g°, depending on whether *alto* or *basso* is meant; in view of the simplification, it would seem that the part was regarded as *alto*, because the run is not at all difficult if played *basso*).

P. 671: 3 lines from bottom, at cat. no. "22" to Regensburg source.

P. 674: The Library of Congress has an early copy of the Symphony under anonymous (the title-page must have become separated from the parts): M.1001, A. (9), with pts. on 4° paper (watermarks illegible) for 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

P. 678: Source 13: The Sieber print can be dated 1771 (not 1773), and thus Hummel reprinted from Sieber and not vice versa.

P. 679: Source 1, line 3: At beginning of sentence read "2nd movt., meas. 45 . . ." (not 1st movt.).

P. 681: Add new source, of Viennese origin, in archives of the Heilig-Kreuz-Kirche, Augsburg (textually a very valuable and early source).

P. 683, under Critical edition: Add "Eulenburg No. 544 (Landon), based on (1), (2), &c.".

P. 686: Source 17: Copy of this important and extremely rare print in University Library at Lund, Sweden (cat. Wenster's don: B-4).

P. 689: Add new source, of local origin, in the archives Heilig-Kreuz-Kirche, Augsburg; 2 clarini pts. in a somewhat later hand; no timp. pt.

P. 694: Symphony No. 53: The title "L'impériale" first appears in Sieber's Thematic Catalogue of Haydn's Symphonies.

P. 696: Source 8: The fag. part is lost. Perfs. on cover from "3 Martii 1783" to 1868 (!).

P. 699: Symphony No. 55: Add new source, of local origin, in the archives of the Heilig-Kreuz-Kirche, Augsburg.

P. 700 (Symphony No. 55): The first edition is missing in my book. It is a print by Guera of Lyon, a publisher whose prints are extremely scarce and about whom we know very little. Although I have not as a rule mentioned the prints missing in my book, since they are all in Hoboken's Catalogue, I feel that readers may wish to consult these rare Guera prints, all of which are in the Cambridge University Library, some from the

Marion Scott Coll., some from other sources. The Cambridge copies also contain Guera's catalogues in various stages. Hoboken has this Guera print listed under Symphony No. 43, the *incipit* of which begins similarly but is, I assure my readers, not the work which M. Guera printed. This is particularly amusing in view of the ponderous footnote in which poor Gerber is accused of confusing Nos. 43 and 55: the confusion, I fear, is chronologically this side of the *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*. The cat. no. of the Guera print of No. 55 (issued with a Symphony by Lochon, in E flat, and one by Vanhal, in F) in the Cambridge Library is 4784.

P. 701: Symphony No. 57: Under Cat. ref., after Göttweig, add "(fragments of the parts extant)".

P. 703: Source 3, line 2: Read "... Viola / e / ... Heydn ..."

P. 705: Date of comp.—1774 (see *supra*, p. 349).

P. 706: Source 14: Add "Ad usum / Fidelis Candon [Landon?]"—cf. No. 71, source 2.

P. 706: Source 24 is Guera (Lyon) and Boyer (Paris): the Pichl Symphony is App. II, No. 72.

P. 706: Symphony No. 61, Source 1: Title-page (otherwise blank): 'Sinfonia'; underneath this, in another hand, 'Haydn'; p. 2 (first p. of music) 'In Nomine Domini . . . [etc.]'. There are 80 pp. (40 sheets), not 40 pp.

P. 707: Source 9: Copy in Donaueschingen; no timpani part.

P. 708: Source 5: Read "4<sup>o</sup> Austrian (?) paper (watermarks: illegible) . . .". Fag. missing.

P. 708: Source 19: Add at end: A late MS. score of this version, without the finale, in B.M., Add. 31708 (No. 4).

P. 709: Under incipits: For "IV" read "IVa" and for "IVa" read "IVb".

P. 709: Under Cat. ref., Göttweig: For "parts lost" read "fragments extant".

P. 710: Line 5: Add "Fl. and fag. parts *taent* after III".

P. 710: Source 1, line 2: At end of line, read: "—the latter occur only in vla. pt., which may be a later substitute for the original pt); source of Viennese origin . . ." (*etc.*). See also p. 41: these pts. were owned by F. X. Glöggel, and his initials are on the title-page.

P. 713: Under Cat. ref.: After Göttweig, for "parts lost" read "pts. extant" and add (2a) under sources, MS. pts., Göttweig.

P. 716: Source 3: It is doubtful whether these parts ever existed (despite Artaria-Botstiber); they are in no Artaria catalogue, and no copy exists. Artaria published only (4) as far as we know.

P. 718: Source 8: The Minuet = No. 62/III.

P. 718: Source 20: No Minuet.

P. 718 (Symphony No. 71): Under list of movts. "II" add "erroneously in DKE as IX, F-4".

P. 720: Under scoring: Madrid (Palacio Real, ms. 628) has a MS. with the GdM scoring, including timp.

P. 721 (add correction to pp. 385 ff.): The following correction—which is a very important one—could only be made as a result of a recent trip to the Esterházy Archives in Budapest. Again I learned the sad fact that one cannot, in musicology (as in any science), trust anyone, any fact, or any tradition: everything must be verified. We read *inter alia* in Geiringer, Hoboken and Landon (p. 385) about the Symphony No. 73 and how its Finale was taken from act III of *La fedeltà premiata* (performed at Esterháza Castle in 1780). This is not the case. None of these gentlemen took the trouble to consult the original score or libretto, and in Hoboken's Catalogue we are even given a description of the beginning of act III of which not a word is true.

The autograph score of *La fedeltà premiata* is preserved largely in the Esterházy Archives (act III is entirely wanting)—Ms. Mus. I, Nr. 6—and an original libretto for the revival of 1782 at Esterháza is also there—Mus. th. 2314-C. The autograph includes the fine movement later used as the Finale to the Symphony *La Chasse*, but it is obvious, when one examines the score, that the piece was used as the Overture to act I of the Opera, not as the Prelude to act III. The score begins with the title-page: "Opera" (Haydn's hand) "la Fedeltà premiata" (another hand) and the "Bogen" (sets of usually four double sheets) are numbered in Haydn's hand: "Bogen" Nos. 1-4 are *La Chasse*, "Bogen" 5 is the beginning of *Atto primo*.

P. 721: Source 2: Cancel the whole entry and read: Autograph, EH, as Overture to *La fedeltà premiata*, act I, cat. Ms. Mus. I, 6. Including the title-page and two blank pp., there are 16 sheets, or 32 pages, the last two of which are also blank. Title (not "La Chasse"): "In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn mp. 780". Instruments: "2 Trombe / o / 2 Corni / in D || Tympani / in D || oboe / 1 || 2<sup>do</sup> || Flauto || Fagotti || Violini [no] / 1 || 2<sup>do</sup> || Viola [below this, and later crossed out, is the word 'Violoncello'] || Bassi". Oblong, ten-stave paper, 31.5 x 23 cm. (watermarks: I, 1, 12). At end of MS.: "Attaca / Subito il Coro", referring to No. 1 of the actual opera. Originally there was no double bar (it being an Overture), but Haydn later drew one across the whole score at bar 80.

P. 721: Source 3: The mystery of the "lost" autograph of the clavier arrangement is, I think, solved by a MS. in the GdM: a piano reduction of the work which is listed as an autograph but is not. This is no doubt the manuscript to which Artaria-Botstiber (p. 26) refer.

P. 721: Source 4: The signature on the B.M. copy is definitely *not* by Haydn, as anyone even faintly conversant with Haydn's handwriting can see at once: unfortunately, I relied on the (otherwise trustworthy) B.M. Catalogue and did not examine the actual source until after the book had gone to press. I managed to correct this mistake in the *Union Catalogue* at the very last minute (thanks to the energetic action of Mr. O. W. Neighbour), but the error is unfortunately in Hoboken.

P. 723 (Symphony No. 75): Under Scoring: Timp. also in MS. 641 of the Palacio Real Archives, Madrid.

P. 725 (Symphony No. 76): Under Date of comp., see *erratum*, p. 388.

P. 725: Source 2: Penultimate line should begin—"small, oblong 'Postpapier' (paper used for mailing) with watermarks 'EC' and letter 'R' with pillars on each side", make change also for Nos. 77 (2) and 78 (2).

P. 726: Source 15: The Torricella print is now known to be authentic and should be moved up to category, *Authentic Prints*: an announcement of Torricella's new Haydn *opus* in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 7th July, 1784, reads "3 letzte Sinfonien, von ihm selbst korrigiert".

P. 729 (Secondary MSS.): Add Heilig-Kreuz-Kirche Archives, Augsburg (local copy).

P. 731 (Symphony No. 80, Secondary MSS.): Add MS. pts., Eferding (Fürstl. Starhemberg'sche Bibliothek). The very rare Guera print of Symphonies Nos. 80, 81 and Ordoñez' Symphony in C—missing in my book, but see Hoboken—is possibly the first edition of all three works; a copy is in the Marion Scott Collection, Cambridge University Library (cat. 106 a-i). (See comment above to p. 700.)

P. 732 (Symphony No. 82): Source 2: The paper is again the small-sized "Postpapier", paper for mailing; watermarks as in No. 76 (2)—see *corrigendum*, *supra*, p. 725, source 2.

Pp. 732 ff.: For all the Paris Symphonies (Nos. 82-87), please change the type of paper and watermark of the Forster MSS. (B. M. Egerton 2379) to read as in *corrigendum* to p. 732.

P. 734: Line 2: In the Hummel print, the bassoon pts. are omitted (!) and rewritten in the *via*. pt.

P. 735: Add source (2a) MS. parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr.) Elssler, EH, cat. Ms. Mus. I, 89; pts. for 1 fl., 2 ob., "Fagotti", 2 cor., 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, 2 vla., vcl., cb. On the cb. pt., the *incipit* in Haydn's hand.

P. 735: Source 3: Strike out the last sentence; the MS. is apparently from Haydn's legacy, and was later owned by J. N. Hummel, Prince Esterházy's Kapellmeister (see Hoboken, pp. 289 and 405).

P. 736: Under Cat. ref., Göttweig: For "parts lost" read "fragments extant".

P. 737: Under Sketches: (1) now owned by R. Aumann, Aarau (Switzerland)—the 1st p. reproduced on plate 88 of R. Aumann, *Die Handschrift der Künstler*, Bern 1953.

P. 744: The autograph of No. 92 has been rediscovered (see *supra*, pp. 28, 48, 428).

P. 754: Last music ex.: This proposed version is in fact that of the Monzani and Cimador print (= Birchall).

P. 759: r.h. column: 3, 31-lines 5/6 should read ". . . have *g* (natural), not *g* sharp, and ob. II, vln. II *e* (natural)".

P. 771 (Symphony No. 101): Under nickname 'Clock': Read "title from the late 18th cent. (Traeg published a piano arr. of the *Andante* as 'Rondo . . . "Die Uhr" ' in 1798)".

P. 774: Source 2: The Minuet is wanting in all the pts.

P. 776 (Symphony "A"): Under Cat. ref., Göttweig: For "parts lost" read "vln. II rediscovered by author in 1957. The text shows a very close connection to that of the St. Florian pt. A new MS. source, with the wind pts., has been rediscovered by E. Lassen in the so-called "Frankfurt Collection" (see *supra*, Appendices, General Remarks): in that source, the finale is written in 3/8 time (as against St. Florian and the very early Göttweig sources)".

P. 787: The "Frankfurt Collection" includes an old MS. of Symphony No. 33 with the *timpani part*: I shall be glad to send copies of the rediscovered part (which Mr. Lassen kindly copied out for me) to any conductors, &c., who wish to have it.

## APPENDIX II

*Note:* To avoid double references, the following *addenda* refer in each case to the number of the Symphony, not the page number.

1: Add to Pichl (4) MS. source owned by Günther Rhau, with the title "Pallas Dea" and *tempo Allegro con giusto*.

2: Hofmann's dates are 1738-1793 (see article in *MGG*).

3: (3), the authentic print contains "Trois Simphonies"—copy in B.M., g. 474.c.(7.).

4: Add to Haydn (3) MS. pts. Washington, M.1001, A2.K.65P. "Del Sig<sup>r</sup> G. Hayden"; on cover "N<sup>o</sup> 6". No timp.

6: *Tempo Allegro vivace* in many MSS. Add to Dittersdorf (7) MS. pts., Salzburg, St. Peter; (8) MS. pts., Donaueschingen, listed in thematic cat. of 1804 (parts=Mus. Ms. 335).

7: *Tempo Allegro molto* in many MSS. Add to Hoffmeister (5) MS. pts., Basel, cat. Kr. II 35; (6) MS. pts., Donaueschingen Mus. Ms. 762.

8: Add to Haydn sources (10) printed pts., Bureau d'Abonnement Musical, Paris, c. 1775 (see App. I, No. 45, source 17)—cf. also Hoboken. The EH parts (as Vanhal) have the (b) sequence of movements, which is an interesting fact, I feel.

9: Add to Hofmann sources (5) Dunwalt Cat. 1770 [B.M., Hirsch IV, 1081]—no trpts. and timp.

11: Add to Haydn sources (4) MS. pts. Prague Nat'l Mus. A. 31, dated 1774 (2 ob., 2 cor., str.). Add to Schneider's data: 1737-1812, organist (not *Regenschori*) at Melk.



- 14: Add to Haydn sources (2) MS. pts. Basel, "Six Symphonies No 3"; (3) MS. pts. Basel, a second copy. Add to Sterkel: MS. pts. in Washington (M.1001, A.2.R.373) list "Reichel" as the author, probably a bastardization of "Sterkel".
- 15: Add to Haydn sources (4) MS. parts Madrid (Palacio Real), MS. 654.
- 17: Add to Haydn (1) "dated 1780". Add to Guénin sources (3) printed pts., Schott, Mainz (pl. no. 153, c. 1793)—copy in Donaueschingen, Mus. Drwk. 1240.
- 18: Add to scoring: Fl., 2 trpt., timp.
- 21: Add to Hofmann (6) Dunwalt Cat. 1770—cf. corr. to 9; (7) Sigmaringen Cat. 1766 (2 ob., 2 cor., 2 clarini, str.).
- 24: Add †(Decca, cond. M. Wöldike). To scoring: one of St. Peter MS. also has timp. Add to Dittersdorf (9)—two sets of MS. pts. in St. Peter, one with timp. (11) printed pts., S. Markordt, Amsterdam, Op. I, No. 1 (copy in B.M.); (12) Sigmaringen Cat. 1766—a later addition. *New edition* (as Dittersdorf) DTÖ 81 (XLIII/2), ed. V. Luithlen.
- 27: *Incipit* II—*tempo* should be *Allegro assai*. Anton Zimmermann was Kapellmeister to Cardinal Batthianyi in Pressburg (see C. F. Pohl, *Denkschrift* . . . p. 19).
- 29: Pleyel scoring includes 2 fag. (not 1), 2 trpt. and timp. Add to Haydn (2) MS. pts., Madrid Palacio Real, MS. 646. This again confirms the Spanish origin of the Washington Coll. Add to Pleyel sources (4) printed pts. Hummel, Berlin, Op. XXXI, Libro I (pl. no. 684); (5) Sarasin Cat., Basel.
- 33: Add to Hofmann sources (2) In Kittel's Cat. of music at Detmold, 1780, as "Hoffmann" (no Christian name); (3) MS. pts., Berlin Hochschule, cat. 1276.
- 34: Under Haydn (3) read "two MS. scores, one from Saltzmann Coll., Brussels". Add to van Swieten (4) MS. score, Bst (Marburg), 21586.
- 35: Massoneau print in Kremsmünster is cat. H 28, 236 (not H 28, 36).
- 37: Add to Vanhal sources (6) MS. pts., St. Peter Salzburg, dated 1771 (*Allegro moderato*); (7) keyboard arr., Br. Cat. 1779-1780.
- 40: Add to Vanhal sources: (13) MS. pts., Michaelbeuern—incomplete—with no trpts. and timp.
- 42: In *incipit* read C for C. For "Probable author" read "Correct author". Kloeffer was *Concertdirector* and also *Finanzassessor* at the Court of Bentheim-Steinfurt, Burg Steinfurt near Münster. An authentic source has been discovered at Rheda (Library of the Princes of Bentheim-Tecklenburg-Rheda, Province of Minden, Northern Germany): MS. pts., cat. 698, the title-page autograph. A second set of pts., also at Rheda, is cat. 903. (Information from Jan LaRue.)
- 43: The Haydn parts (Zittau) are dated 6th November, 1821.
- 44: Schmitt's dates are 1750-1815 (DTB, XXVIII); he went to Amsterdam about 1780, founded the publishing house of Schmitt there, and was in Frankfurt about 1803 (see Gerber, *Lexikon* 1812-1814). Add to Schmid source: Sigmaringen Cat. 1766 (no trpts., timp.). Add to Schmitt source: Dunwalt Cat. 1770 (cf. 9)—2 cor., str. Probably Joseph Schmitt was the actual composer.
- 48: Under Schmitt, Hummel print: add date "1768 in Hummel's Thematic Cat". Add to Schmitt sources (4) Dunwalt Cat. 1770 (cf. 9)—2 ob., 2 cor., str.
- 49: Add to Dittersdorf sources (2) MS. pts., St. Peter, Salzburg.
- 50: The Körzel parts are still extant (1761).
- 52: Under Haydn (1): A second MS. at Schwerin includes only the 4th, 5th and 6th movts. Add to Haydn sources (3) MS. pts., Donaueschingen.
- 53: *Modern edition*: Ed. by Adolf Sandberger, "Münchner Haydn-Renaissance" Abt. I/2 (1937).



57: For "Probable author" read *Correct author* and add (2) score of opera, Le Duc, Paris (pl. no. 83), "Tragedie lyrique en trois actes Représentée pour la première fois par l'Académie de Musique, le Mardi 25 Fevrier 1783" (copy *inter alia* in B.M.).

58: Under "Probable author" add: *Franz Anton Rosetti* (1750-1792): Thematic Catalogue of 1804, Donaueschingen, Rosetti No. 10. *Modern editions* (as Haydn): (a) Ed. Adolf Sandberger, "Münchener Haydn-Renaissance", Abt. I/4 (1939); (b) Ed. Hans Erdmann, Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle, 1955 (with an impossibly arrogant preface). *Tempo: Allegro (molto moderato)*.

60: In the Bailleux print, this work is listed as No. II (not V). Lausenmayer (*recte*) was probably the double bass player in Richter's band at Strassbourg between 1769 and 1789. Add to Lausenmayer sources: MS. pts., Darmstadt.

61: *Tempo* is *Adagio maestoso*. The scoring is fl., 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str. vln. conc., 2 solo violas, vc. conc., str. *Probable author: Pichl* (cf. 1): (1) printed pts., Hummel, Amsterdam, "Sinfonie Concertante . . . Oeuvre VI" (pl. no. 523); copy in Washington, M.1001. P. 58, Op. 6-P; (2) MS. pts., Donaueschingen, Mus. Ms. 1550.

62: Source (2) of Michael Haydn MSS. lacks the third movement.

67: In *incipit*, read for double dot in bar 1 a dotted quaver rest. *Correct author: Cibulka*. Either Alois Cibulka (1768-1845), the conductor in Ofen and Pest (now Budapest), or Matthaeus, born about 1770, studied in Prague, then Kapellmeister in Grätz (East Prussia) and, in 1798, Direktor of Buschen's Company (Gerber *Lexikon* 1812-1814 and Eitner). In the Donaueschingen Thematic Cat. of 1804, the Symphony is listed as "Cibulka"; then the title-page of the actual parts seems to have disappeared, whereupon someone wrote Haydn's name in pencil on the vln. I part, and the work was promptly placed among the Haydn sources. Later, the Cibulka entry in the Cat. was crossed out (since the work, as Cibulka, had disappeared). Thus, this D major Symphony never really existed as Haydn at all. *Literature*: H. Schorn, 'Neue Haydn-Funde' (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 1913, Nos. 34-35); Schorn did not see the Cibulka entry in the Donaueschingen Cat.

68: *Tempo* (in EH—see *infra*) *Allegro molto*. Under Haydn sources (2) read "score" for "parts". *Probable author?* Winkler: MS. pts., EH (old cat. No. 32/61) "Sinfonia Ex D: Minor" (no fag.); *Franz Christian Neubauer* (1760-1795): MS. pts., Dresden (pts. anonymous, but Oels Cat. as Neubauer): see Hoboken.

71: The Haydn pts. at Donaueschingen are cat. Mus. Ms. 737, 1 (not 708) and are entitled "Di Sig: Haydn"; add (2) MS. pts., Madrid, Palacio Real, MS. 1973 (no Christian name).

74: Cancel the second source under Haydn (Frankfurt).

75: MS. pts. Donaueschingen, Mus. Ms. 737,2 as "Del Sig Hayden".

77: Add to Haydn sources (4) MS. pts., Prague Nat'l Museum, cat. D223, "Notturmo" for str.

80: Source (1) includes three symphonies: Nos. (II) 90, 124 and 80.

81: *Tempo Largo sostenuto*; add *p*; last two notes of bar 2 should not be dotted; *tr* on a flat, bar 3. Scoring: str. only. *Probable author: Gaetano Pugnani* (1731-1798): (1) printed pts., J. J. Hummel, Amsterdam and B. Hummel, Hague (no pl. no.)—"Trè Quartetti à Due Violini, Alto Viola & Basso Continuo composte da G: Pugnani" (copy in B.M., g. 687. a.(1.)) (in Hummel's Thematic Cat. of 1768); (2) printed pts., same works, Welcker, London (copy in B.M., RM 16.f.14.(3.)); (3) Dunwalt Cat., 1770 (cf. 9) as "Quadro"; (4) printed pts., Venier, Paris, Op. 1, No. 2 (*N.B.* bar 2 is dotted here), "Sei Sinfonie A 4. 5. e 7. Stromenti" (copy in Washington); for further sources, see Zschinsky-Troxler's standard work, *Gaetano Pugnani*, Berlin, 1939 (Atlantis Verlag).

83: Under Haydn: the pts. are anonymous and Haydn's name is nowhere to be seen, either on the cover, or on the parts. Jan LaRue has convincingly proved that this symphony is a work by *Baron Theodor von Schacht*; LaRue's definitive article on the subject may be expected in the near future.

85: Add to Fränzl sources (2) Dunwalt Cat. 1770 (cf. 9), 2 fl., 2 cor., str. Add to Filtz sources: (3) Sigmaringen Cat. 1766, with 2 ob. and 2 cor.; (4) MS. pts., Rheda, cat. 918 (for Rheda, cf. 42).

89: Add to end of Haydn entry, "later crossed out in Haydn's hand". Add to Michael Haydn source (1), "4th movt. autograph, undated, also in EH".

90: Add to Dittersdorf sources (4) Dunwalt Cat. 1770 (cf. 9), 2 fl., 2 cor., str.; (5) MS. pts., Florence Conservatorio, D 14/4; (6) MS. pts., Darmstadt; (7) MS. pts., Washington, M.1001, D.62.P. No. 5; marked "Sig Ditters/Per la Capella Principale".

94: Haydn, source (3), for "pts." read "score".

97: Add to Holzbauer sources (2) MS. pts., Rheda (cf. 42), *Allegro molto*.

99: This work is listed under Dittersdorf's name in the Sigmaringen Cat. 1766 (later addition).

100: Add to Pleyel sources (7) MS. pts., Washington, M.1001, P. 732P (Spanish Coll.).

101: For a discussion of this work and additional sources, see Landon, 'Two Orchestral Works' . . . MUSIC REVIEW, XVII/1 (1956).

104: Add to Pleyel sources (6) MS. pts., Darmstadt; (7) MS. pts., Washington, M.1001, P.731.P. (Spanish Coll.)

107: Under Jos. Haydn sources (4) should read: printed pts., Hummel ("Symph. Périodique No. XXIV" in a set of six by "Diverses Auteurs") as Mich. Haydn; Br. Cat. 1772 lists the print as "Hayden" with no Christian name; add to Jos. Haydn sources (9) Dunwalt Cat. 1770 (cf. 9), a later addition. The Mich. Haydn autograph was rediscovered by T. D. Thomas and is in the Bavarian State Library, Munich (Overture to *Die Hochzeit auf der Alm*); add to Mich. Haydn sources (4) authentic MS. pts. to the opera, St. Peter, Salzburg.

108: Add to Mich. Haydn sources (5) MS. score, Stockholm, and remove the words "score &" from entry (3).

109: For the newly discovered Gyrowetz source, see *supra*, p. 3.

110: under "N.B." read "5" movts. (not 8).

111: Under Dittersdorf sources add (4) MS. pts., Regensburg.

112: Under Haydn sources add (2) MS. pts., Kroměříž (Kremsier), ČSR. Under Vanhal sources, add (7) MS. pts., St. Peter, Salzburg; (8) printed pts., Hummel, "Six Simphonies" —see I, 35, source 17 ("Sinfonia XXVII . . . S<sup>r</sup> Vanhal"); (9) MS. pts., Washington, M.1001, W.25P. (owner: "Henkel") and *tempo Maestoso*; (10) MS. pts., Schlägl; (11) MS. pts., Donaueschingen mus. ms. 1990.

113: The signature on St. Peter parts should read "Schripsit [sic] Bartholomaeus Ze inter [Zinter?] 1801".

114: Add to Vanhal sources (6) MS. pts., St. Peter, Salzburg; (7) MS. pts., Regensburg; (8) MS. pts., Donaueschingen, cat. Mus. Ms. 328.

116: Add to Filtz sources (9) printed pts., Welcker, London, N° 17 Gerrard St., St. Anns Soho (c. 1775), "Six Simphonies" No. 1 (B.M. g. 474.m.(5.)); (10) Dunwalt Cat. 1770 (cf. 9); (11) Sarasin Cat., Basel; (12) MS. pts., Washington, M.1001, A2.F. No. 11; (13) MS. pts., Donaueschingen, Mus. Ms. 461 (2 clarinets, str.).

118: Add to Hofmann sources (4) Göttweig Cat., 1763, with no introduction (the *incipit* of the *Allegro molto*, A maj. 4/4, is not listed in my book). The scoring in Regensburg and Modena includes 2 ob. pts.

119: Add to Ordoñez sources (2) MS. pts., Donaueschingen, Mus. Ms. 1482 ("In usum Franc. Car. Stuekle Rhetoris Candidati 1772"), str. only. See also p. 26, *supra*. The pts. probably from the former Benedictine Monastery of Villingen, secularized in 1803.

121: Cancel source (1) under Joseph Haydn sources, add (1) MS. pts., Donaueschingen ("Sig: Haydn") and (3) MS. pts., Zittau.

123: Under Mich. Haydn source (1) cancel the date. The first three movts. were finished on 27 September 1766 in Salzburg, and the Finale was added later, on 15 June 1772: (*incipit* follows) . . .

124: Under Haydn entry, cancel "MS.", add "printed pts., Mme. Berauld, Paris, Op. XIX: see *corrigendum* to II, 80, *supra*. Add to Dittersdorf sources (6) MS. pts., St. Peter, Salzburg; (7) Dunwalt Cat. 1770 (*cf.* 9), 2 fl, 2 cor, str.

131: Under Vanhal sources, for (4) read: printed pts., 4 Sym., Op. XVI, Bureau d'Abonnement Musical, Paris, 1774 (this work is No. 4 of the set): announced in Br. Cat., *Announces* . . ., *Gazette* . . . in 1774.

132: Under Haydn sources add (2) MS. pts., dated 1766, Moravian Church Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina (a copy by J. F. Peter).

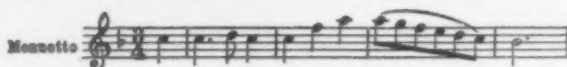
134: Under scoring, add "2 fag. in Pleyel sources". Add to Pleyel sources (2) Sarasin Cat., Basel; (3) printed pts. "Periodical Overture . . . as Perform'd at the Principal Concerts . . . N<sup>o</sup> [9]", London, Preston, 1794 (pl. no. 96): copy in B.M. h. 3210.(19.); (4) printed arr. for pf., vln. by F. Tomich., London, Longman & Broderip: copy in B.M., g. 147.(11.); (5) printed arr. for pf., vln., fl. & vc. by S. F. Rimbault, London, W. Hodsoll (watermark date: 1823); (6) MS. pts., Harburg, dated 1789 together with (7) printed pts., Götz, Mannheim (pl. no. 185), Op. III No. 6; (8) MS. pts., Washington, M.1001, P.735.P (Spanish Coll.); (9) MS. pts., Donaueschingen, Mus. Ms. 1586.

N.B.: I have not included any of the "new" spurious symphonies found only in Hoboken, nor have I included half-a-dozen additional works which I have found, or readers have sent me; these are symphonies listed neither in my book nor in Hoboken's Catalogue. When the sources from Czecho-Slovakia—Haydn's and other composers'—have been examined, we may be able to publish a fairly definitive list of these doubtful and spurious works, and it is to be expected that we may at last find the names for some of the unidentified works appearing only under Haydn's name. Similarly, this list of *errata* and *corrigenda* does not include new books and articles, especially since the Haydn Sesquicentenary will produce many important new additions to the (compared to that of the other masters) scanty Haydn literature which has appeared in the last fifty years. The principal errors in the bibliography are as follows: *Beyle* and *Bombet* are both pseudonyms for *Stendhal*; for *Dale* read *Dab* and the date should be 1940 (XXI); *Gerber*, read *Lexikon* (not *Lexicon*); under *Hiller* read "*cf.* also 'Periodicals' "; *Päsler*, date should read 1918; *Pohl*, *Denkschrift*—date should read 1871; *Ursin*, date should read 1929; *Zinzendorf*, for "Vienna City Archives" read "Staatsarchiv, Vienna".

*Index*: P. 839, r.h. column, 1st entry: Read 1767 for *c.* 1771; p. 840, *Duet* dated 1794; *Notturmi*, for No. 5 in C read No. 3 in G (see p. 431); under *Operas*, *Lo Speciale* add:—Overture (B. & H. II, 10): 5, 18, 20 f., 40; p. 841, under *Overtures*, for II, 10 read: "see Opera, *Lo Speciale*"; p. 847, read *Aspelmayr*, Franz . . .; p. 848, read *Breval*, Jean-Baptiste; p. 849, read "*Cappelletti*, Theresa Poggi (soprano) 44 f." and cancel next entry; *Clagget*, for "494" read "495"; p. 850, read *Eferding* (not *Efferding*); p. 851, 2nd entry, read *Florio*, G. . .; under *Gautherot* add "Louise"; *Graeff* (Graf, Graff, etc.), J. G. (not F. H.); p. 853, *Kirnberger*, U. L. (not A. L.); *Krombŕicŕ* (not *Kromericz*); *Kuchler*, Johann; p. 854, *Leander*=P. Leander Staining; *Lebrun*, Ludwig August; p. 856, *Pacchierotti*, for "433" read "438"; p. 857, under *Planck* read "41, 45" (not 44); *Poole*, Caroline; for *Proti* read *Prati*, Alessio; p. 858, *Ritter*, Georg Wenzel; p. 859, *Toeschi*, Carlo Giuseppe (Karl): 130, 376; under *Toeschi*, Johann Baptist, strike out "130".

P. 861: Note to 18: I have just examined the score from Haydn's legacy, which is now in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest (temporary cat. no. opera 714). Part of the score is obviously autograph, and there are many corrections and additions in Ordoñez' hand: this manuscript, incidentally, is the first bit of a musical autograph by Ordoñez that

we have been able to locate. (After years' search, his autograph signature was discovered on a file in the Tonkünstler-Sozietät Archives, Vienna.) The EH source is entitled "Musica/Della Parodia d'Alceste". To my astonishment I found, in the first Act, the little *Balletto* entitled "Menuetto in Tempo Com[m]odo e piano"<sup>8</sup> which also appears in Haydn's *Philemon und Baucis* (see *addendum*, p. 276, *supra*): In view of the fact that the other, rather similar piece has turned out to be by Gluck, I had assumed that the present *Menuetto* was also by Gluck. Obviously, it was composed by Carlos d'Ordoñez, that elusive and fascinating composer about whom I hope soon to write an article, with a complete thematic catalogue of his works—a project for which I have been collecting material for many years. The *incipit* of the piece in question is:



<sup>8</sup> The words "e piano" are in Ordoñez' hand.

#### REVIEWERS

- |          |                       |
|----------|-----------------------|
| J. B.    | — JOHN BOULTON        |
| R. D.    | — ROBERT DONINGTON    |
| R. S.    | — RONALD STEVENSON    |
| A. V. C. | — A. V. COTON         |
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## The New in Review

BY

HANS KELLER

### TV MUSIC, MR. SALTER, AND THE BBC

A DECADE or so ago, the name of Lionel Salter struck me in one of the music magazines. Was it possible? Here was a music critic who could read music. Nor, in order to get his job, did he seem to have furnished positive proof of being below average intelligence. I cut out one of his reviews. I wanted to quote it in my vaguely projected book on criticism. In the event, I shan't, because under the influence of my functional analysis, the book is changing shape. Nevertheless, I have to mention the fact in order to give an idea of the spirit in which I can be relied upon to approach Mr. Salter's important letter in this journal's last November issue, on the subject of "Music on Television".

First of all, let me thank him for his most necessary correction of my statement, at the outset of my article on "The Raised Lowbrow" in this journal's last August issue, to the effect that Julius Katchen's recital on 1st July, 1958, was "the first experiment of its kind". It wasn't. I apologize unreservedly. I have no excuse. I only have an explanation. I had my information from one of the horses' mouths. I shall not disclose who it was, because the responsibility for the published statement must remain mine. But short of ringing Mr. Salter himself, I don't know whom I could have asked with the same confidence.

Nor was my informant's statement, which became my own, quite so absurd as it might appear from Mr. Salter's letter. What, I think, my informant meant, and what, I hope, I meant, was the experiment of playing a single, extended solo piano work on television. The statement was still wrong—indeed, as Mr. Salter points out, "the Paganini-Brahms itself had been played fifteen months earlier by Geza Anda"—but its real meaning disposes of many of the examples which Mr. Salter adduces. My intention is not to get out of my mis-statement. I repeat that my apology is unqualified. My point is one of regret—that Mr. Salter should let a most important correction degenerate into a propaganda speech for the Corporation's television music. Before we know where we are, we read in his letter about such ventures as the transmissions of *Salome* or a "relay of Arrau in a Mozart concerto from the Edinburgh Festival". Painfully unaware as I was at that stage of what the BBC's television department had been doing for music (to wit, a lot), I wasn't as unaware as all that. Nor, of course (as Mr. Salter will agree), did I pose as an expert or criticize anything except what emerged from the particular recital I had heard and seen. Meanwhile, I have acquired a TV set, and I have studied the problem as intensely as possible. I shall continue to do so. Mr. Salter will have noticed that I have become regular television critic for one of our musical magazines, and in this journal, too, I shall discuss any significant development in this field, alongside my contributions on film music. In a word, I am fulfilling the request expressed in Mr. Salter's last sentence as completely as humanly possible.

Now, when I say that Mr. Salter's propaganda is a pity, I mean that he tends to shelve problems to the point of begging questions. The overriding question is—what are the musical advantages and what the disadvantages of mass audiences? It is an enormously difficult question. It includes the problem of music for the unmusical. Mr. Salter only thinks in terms of advantages. He "reaches five million for opera". Should he? Perhaps. Perhaps not. Perhaps both. I hope to examine the entire problem at a future stage.

Lastly, before I arrive at a point that transcends the musical importance of television altogether, there are Mr. Salter's comments on the visual problem. "Since music is an abstract art" [it isn't, it's the concretest form of thought], "what we look at (unless appropriate visual counterpoints can be found which do not detract from concentration on the all-important music itself" [heaven beware: they can't]) "is mostly the makers of the

music". Well, of course. Who, if he is a musician, would ever suggest anything else, except for the printed music? With whom is Mr. Salter arguing? What I criticized were certain unfunctional shots of the "maker"—what I called "The Face's Progress: intermittent shots from behind the piano, showing the facial aspects of Mr. Katchen's *espressivo* style together with a kind of pictorial weather report upon the accumulation of sweat upon his lowered high brow".

In principle, however, Mr. Salter and I seem to agree. In fact, I have to return his compliment. His letter too, "makes welcome reading", at a time when the BBC still largely ignores one's criticisms. Personally and on behalf of functional analysis, I am profoundly grateful to the Corporation. They have shown the very greatest understanding for my method. So grateful am I in fact, that, were I more than one other person, I would gradually and unobtrusively cease to criticize them, except for a little remark here and there to calm my readers and my conscience alike. I'd be careful to keep in with them. Such an attitude would, of course, be below contempt, mine, yours, and, I hope, theirs.

The point is that Mr. Salter writes to the press but the music department doesn't. Mr. Salter, very properly, corrects, but the music department is above being corrected. In public print, I have shown in no uncertain terms what Mr. Michael Tippett knows about Schönberg. Result: no reaction. Or rather—a delayed reaction. Years later, Tippett is again given a Schönberg job. He introduces *Von heute auf morgen*. He accomplishes the feat of getting his facts wrong in a short popular introduction. It becomes abundantly obvious that he has never heard the piece in the opera house.

Then the broadcast of the opera itself. A Dutch tape. Of the *one* performance at the Holland Festival (I heard them all) which went completely wrong. With the sole and in the circumstances, miraculous exception of Magda László, everybody is almost throughout wide of the pitch mark—over considerable stretches to the extent of a major third. The recording itself—if that makes any difference in the circumstances—is hair-raising. Needless to add, *Von heute auf morgen*, thus first heard by most people, is duly and unfavourably criticized. Nobody notices anything amiss.

Will the music department reply to this burning accusation of a burning disgrace, as Mr. Salter replied to my TV article? Or does the BBC only reply where it can correct? Who is there in the music department who can be regarded as an expert on contemporary music, able to deal with a case like that of the Dutch tape of *Von heute auf morgen*? Who accepted it for broadcasting? Why? Who understands Schönberg's music? Nobody? Why not? Why can other radio stations employ modern music experts? There are musicians in the music department for whose musicality I have the profoundest admiration. But does one expect them, does one expect a man like my respected friend Bob Simpson, who is burdened with anti-Schönbergian prejudices, to cope with Schönberg broadcasts? I am giving a random example. I don't know whether he was responsible. I don't know who was responsible. But I do know who is irresponsible so far as the work of one of the acknowledged masters of the century is concerned: the entire Corporation. Not all their Schönberg broadcasts are bad. But there is no guarantee that every future one will be elementarily tolerable, comprehensible, and that it will be surrounded by the dissemination of true facts. We have the right to ask for such a guarantee.

## Concerts and Opera

### HANDEL'S SAMSON AT COVENT GARDEN

THERE seems no reason at all why a baroque oratorio should not be given the attraction of a full theatrical performance. Handel himself only turned from opera to oratorio from circumstance, not from choice.

But it is interesting what happens. It is not just that the eye has the pleasures of spectacle and movement to add to those of the ear. The work itself comes out as genuine opera. It reveals itself as dramatically and not only musically moving.



The spectacle provided by this production is almost static, but all the better for that, since the plot itself is concentrated, with superb force, into a single day of crisis. I have nothing but praise for the beauty and symbolic rightness of the setting, the lighting and the costumes. In detail, too, symbols have been created which really answer to the inner significance they are supposed to render visual. I wish as much could be said for the recent production of the *Ring*.

The amount of movement and action on the stage was also imaginatively calculated; the only point at which it was markedly overdone being the scene of meditation round Samson's corpse, which is in any case the one portion of the music which seems too long for its place in the drama. The ruin of the banquet hall was splendidly contrived (another lesson for *Götterdämmerung* here?). All in all, the advantage of all this admirable theatre-craft is tremendous, and largely accounts for the delighted but obviously rather surprised enthusiasm of the audience. I must confess that I shared in the surprise as well as in the delight. Neither Handel nor oratorio is a phenomenon of baroque music which ordinarily much appeals to me.

But an even more important advantage is Raymond Leppard's conducting. The trouble about most Handel performances in general and Handel oratorio performances in particular is that they bring out the worst in him—his heavy side—while stifling the inspired vitality of the man, where his genius lies. This performance made a tentative start; but it rapidly warmed up to the best Handel oratorio conducting I have yet heard. It revealed the music as having a beauty and greatness I had not suspected.

There is so much in baroque music that a modern conductor and orchestra will inevitably do quite disastrously out of style—unless they know different. Leppard does know different. He could not, in the time, get his orchestra altogether into style; but he did enough to get Handel cut of his grave and make a living composer of him. Believe me, that is a rare achievement these days.

Knowledge by itself never made any performance moving, of course. But Leppard shows himself a fine musician. Like Bruno Walter in Wagner, he allows himself some very slow *tempi*, and makes them pay dividends by sheer intensity of feeling. He starts right, with small forces and an incisive approach; on that basis, he can build a glowing interpretation which is romantic, but not anachronistically so. Baroque music is extremely romantic in its own different fashion; and above all it is theatrical, and not oratorical.

It was a triumph to get so successfully away from the traditional atmosphere of oratorio. Every shred of evidence I know confirms that baroque singing was declamatory, impassioned, and essentially of the theatre. This includes singing in oratorio, which must have been as unlike our current idea of it as could well be. There never was a more bogus tradition than the modern (really the nineteenth-century) oratorio tradition; and one of the crucial decisions in the present production was the decision to have operatic singers singing it operatically and not oratorio singers singing it soporifically. The Covent Garden chorus, pictorially arranged in tiers so that they pleased the eye, sang better than I have ever heard them. And the soloists?

One of them, Elisabeth Lindermeier, has so inadequate a voice production that she should never have been cast for a part written, as Handel's parts were written, in a great age of voice production. At the other extreme, I have never heard anything of the kind more convincing than Joan Sutherland's brilliant aria, with its running thirds on equal terms with a high trumpet—just like some of the famous baroque descriptions. David Kelly and Joseph Rouleau were satisfactory, Lauris Elms decidedly pleasing, with a nice flowing voice production; Jon Vickers very good indeed, with the right heroic ring. But I think that only Joan Sutherland would have come up to Handel's own exacting standards.

We cannot recall that lost vocal virtuosity as yet; but what could add invaluable here and now to the brilliance of the effect would be increased attention to the ornamentation. Modern singers cannot improvise it, like baroque ones; but variations and cadenzas can be written out for them, in a suitably light and exhilarating style. This is not mere dry musicology: their absence leaves a real gap; their presence just brings the excitement to

the boil. And *appoggiaturas*! If singers could once realize how ridiculous they sound when they leave them out (Jon Vickers was the worst offender), they would come running to be shown where to put them in. Leppard could have told them. But no doubt he wanted to concentrate on essentials; and this he has done with memorable success.

R. D.

#### VENICE 1958

#### STRAVINSKY'S *THRENI*

THE twenty-first Venice Festival was distinguished from earlier occasions not merely by its coming of age; also, and much more, by the grievous loss of Dr. Alessandro Piovesan, the organizing secretary, who died just before the programmes of the next Festival were decided upon. Just as his predecessor, Ferdinando Ballo, had impressed his personal stamp on the organization of this yearly event until his resignation after 1951 (he was, it will be remembered, an enthusiastic advocate of the modern in music), so did Piovesan, though a little in the opposite direction. In him keen interest in the contemporary scene was tempered by the historic enthusiasm of a musicologist—particularly in favour of the early musical achievements of his native Venice. Since these Festivals were obliged, by definition, to attend to contemporary music in the first place, Piovesan devised the coincident "Autunno Musicale" devoted to the musical past of the city, as well as to early Italian music in general.

The policies of the new organizing secretary (or committee) cannot be defined so clearly at present. The idea of performing old, chiefly Venetian, music seems to have been retained: but its care is delegated to the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, an institute established by private munificence to preserve and foster Venetian culture in its broadest sense. No doubt financial reasons contributed, too, to the need for division; and it is here that the FGC made the most effective and valuable contribution. The less pleasant side of the partition is the almost complete divorce of the two events, including the vexation of being obliged to cross the Bacino San Marco by boat to reach the Sala del Noviziato on the Isola di San Giorgio where these events were held: departures take place at half-hour intervals. Often the visitors are not informed sufficiently in advance of these additional events: so it happened that two of what I considered the most important performances of this section—devoted to the works of Antonio Lotti and Caldara respectively—I was obliged to miss because the advance information made no mention of them.

On the other hand the new régime evinces a healthy interest in the musical scene of the "curtained" parts of the world. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland were given some share in the Festival programmes: however, owing to "technical hitches" the Prague party did not turn up. Hungary was represented by the performance of Ferenc Szabó's string Quartet no. 1, also by the appearance of that superb viola-player Pál Lukács; and Poland by the music of Jan Krenz, but especially by Stanislaw Skrowaczewski, whose inspiring and musicianly conducting Londoners have already had an opportunity to enjoy.

The inaugural night of the Festival was devoted to Ildebrando Pizzetti: the programme included the *Preludio* to *Fedra*, the *Intermezzo* from the new "*L'assassinio nella Cattedrale*" (after Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*), and *Ifigenia*, a one-act "musical tragedy". This was clearly an act of homage to the *doyen* of Italian composers, and as such more of an internal affair.

It was Stravinsky who furnished the main attraction to the cosmopolitan and fashionable audience; particularly since his two evenings constituted a miniature Stravinsky festival that included an important *première*.

"*THRENI id est Lamentatione Jeremiae Prophetae*", the new Stravinsky, obtained a mixed reception. The audience's applause was more of a token of respect for a great living musician than a sign of spontaneous appreciation; and of the critics, the Italian

colleagues showed coolness—which may have been caused by the irritation they felt at the infelicitous press arrangements.

The oratorio is of surprising dimensions by Stravinskian standards. It takes 34 minutes and it demands a large vocal section, including six soloists (soprano, contralto, two tenors, bass, and *basso profondo*) and a mixed chorus, which is accompanied by a relatively small orchestra of individual instrumental combination including alto clarinet in F, sarrusophone, and a flügelhorn among the woodwind and brass, in addition to strings and percussion, harp and keyed instruments.

The text is supplied by selected psalms from the Lamentations of Jeremiah in the Vulgate (Latin) version; and even these, *viz.* Psalms one, three, and five, are abbreviated so as to avoid those repetitions which, although effective in the verbal communication, would tend to detain the musical development. As a preamble the first psalm is preceded by an introduction of 18 bars where the voices announce: "*Incipit Lamentatio Jeremiae Prophetæ*"—words which are not part of the Psalms proper.

The music divides naturally into three parts—a formal scheme predestined by the text. This tripartite balance is made even more explicit by the ternary division of the middle part (*De Elegia Tertia*) itself, its constituent sections being *Querimonia*, *Sensus Spei*, and *Solacium*. This balance is emphasized by a certain symmetry—not too literal—existing between the corresponding parts, to which *Sensus Spei* constitutes the apex where the dramatic and musical culmination of the work is attained. The mystical Hebrew letters, which are obligatory parts of the text, are a further, and ingenious, means of formal articulation, for their simple or decorated chordal settings provide a distinct contrast to punctuate the prevailing contrapuntal texture of the music. They are, however, absent from the last section (*De Elegia Quinta*) where the structural divisions are indicated mainly by the changing vocal and orchestral combinations.

The musical vocabulary of *Threni* is strictly dodecaphonic, utilizing a single row

#### Ex. 1



throughout. "Strictly", however, must be understood in a Stravinskian sense: even though the *fons et origo* of the music remains the series quoted above, he uses it with considerable freedom compared, for instance, with Schönberg: he frequently repeats groups of two or three notes of the row, mostly those which are either a semitone or a fourth (or fifth) apart and so obtains sizable stretches of odd and unexpected tonal (*i.e.* "diatonic" as opposed to "dodecaphonic") effects. The style of the music shows a curious ambivalence. Webern is its first and foremost inspiration, although Stravinsky's melodic line is less angular and disjointed than his model's, while the occurrence of repeated notes, and repetitions of short motivic note-groups, giving the impression of recitative and *ostinato* respectively, are wholly absent from Webern's idiom.

What is even more indebted to Webern is the refinement and delicacy of sound: in this respect, as in many others, *Canticum Sacrum* as well as *Agon*, are momentous forerunners.

The contrapuntal idiom of the music refers, on the other hand, to the language of early polyphony—*circa* the period of the Nôtre-Dame school and of Machaut—both in its display of canonic *arcana* and similar contrapuntal *legerdemain*, and in its total effect of rough-hewn monumentality, hardness, and archaic impersonality. But Stravinsky's astonishing technical virtuosity is not exhausted with these canons, duplex canons, inverted and crab canons—he succeeds also in giving an illusion of liturgical chant by including its typical melodic contour and conventionalized turns of phrase in the ingenious formulation of his dodecaphonically postulated melodic sentences.

The passage quoted here will illustrate the character of the music in general.

**Ex. 2** Canon, *a. 4, duplex* Re - cor - da - re etc.

100 Re - cor - da - re etc.

Re - cor - da - re etc.

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(Ex. 1 and 2 are reproduced by permission of Messrs. Boosey & Hawkes, Ltd.)

One may or may not accept his artistic and intellectual endeavour to reconcile the world of the Middle Ages with the spirit of Modern Man: but it is certain that *Threni* is a culminating point in a line of thought which began with the Cantata of 1952. In relation to it the achievement of the intermediate *Canticum Sacrum* will seem to consist partly in the purification of the new vocabulary (resulting in a new Stravinskian language), but chiefly in its confirming the new Stravinskian spiritual horizon determined by faith.

The performance, though unquestionably authentic, was not absolutely convincing. The singers, including the six soloists and the chorus of Radio Hamburg as well as its orchestra, to whom the score is dedicated, were obviously enthusiastic and ready to give their best—they seemed to feel, however, a lack of clear and determined direction. The same shortcoming was evident to a greater and lesser extent in the rest of the Stravinsky programmes which included *Oedipus Rex* (given in a version shorn of the Narrator's part), *The Rite of Spring*—these two in a rigidly disciplined, "sewing-machine" reading—*In Memoriam Dylan Thomas*, *Symphonies aux Instruments à Vent*, and the *Choral Variations on "Von Himmel Hoch"*. Perhaps the *Symphonies for Wind Instruments* showed up best: this was probably due to the magnificent acoustics of the Great Hall in Scuola San Rocco.

The art of conducting was demonstrated to better effect by Skrowaczewski but his programme was rather uneven. Jan Krenz' *Rhapsody*, written in 1952, is a simple affair in plain ternary form. The opening theme has a slight Polish flavour and the delicate colour of the orchestral writing testifies to the young composer's ability and imagination. Of Margola, however, one would have expected better things; not only on account of more experience (he is fifty) but also, and chiefly, because he has been enjoying the advantages of living in the mainstream of European music. His *Concerto per Archi* which received its first performance, harks back to traditional schemes and shows a conventional mentality. It contains an overdose of chromatic futilities, but in the fast section a more resolute rhythmic-thematic profile is discernible. But the delicate contrapuntal texture and painstaking workmanship are undoubted evidence of a miniaturist of taste.

Pinelli, whose *Sinfonia Variata* I heard with interest at the 1951 Festival, has not fulfilled quite the expectations I then had for his music. He had experimented with dodecaphonism and his music promised a sufficiently interesting personal solution of twelve-note vocabulary, typically Italian imagination, and a preference for precise orchestral textures. His *Piccolo Concerto per Orchestra*, which was now given its first performance showed him a true Italian in the first place. He has unashamedly abandoned himself to sheer emotionalism and in so doing he seems to have allowed some of the episodes to swell disproportionately from a formal point of view. Dodecaphonism is abandoned for the sake of conventionalized melodic turns; and he shows keenness for virtuoso instrumental effects (his writing for the woodwind is especially noteworthy).

The two solo concertos both had admirable executioners. Karl Amadeus Hartmann's *Konzert für Bratsche mit Klavier begleitet von Bläsern und Schlagzeug* was hailed by many otherwise perceptive critics as the most worthwhile music of the evening. Coming last on a programme of mainly Italian works, one could not help reacting to the typically German self-consciousness of this music. Undoubtedly the structure of each of its three movements does manifest some personal features; but Hartmann is nevertheless not oblivious of inherited conventions—cf. the meditative introduction to the first movement, which is relieved by the self-propelling rattle of the main *Allegro*; the indispensable *fugato* in the lyrical slow movement; the rhythmic-metric quips of the concluding "*Rondo varié*". The phraseology owes a great deal to middle-period Hindemith—probably because his idiom is so well suited to virtuoso *concertante* writing. Apart from its functional advantages as a showy piece for the solo-instruments, I thought the music too mechanical to convince. Pál Lukács, in the solo-part, gave us the best individual performance of the Festival: musicianly to the last demisemiquaver, generous in feeling and brilliant in execution.

Zafred's *Concerto per violoncello e orchestra* indicates a considerable advance on his earlier music. He seems to understand well the requirements of the solo instrument: its part-writing furnishes numerous opportunities to show off the manual dexterity and musicianship of the performer; the music has a decided personal note and yet preserves many features of that noble instrumental tradition which distinguishes Italian music. There is the rhapsodic and meditative opening, followed by a *scherzando* movement whose well-grasped rhythmic life constitutes a convincingly appropriate contrast; after the distinguished lyricism of the slow movement, a successful stylization of the instrumental *canzona* idiom of an earlier period, the jazzy finale comes as something of a shock. There are plenty of ideas and spirit in this music, communicated with unflinching skill and imagination. Amadeo Baldovino, to whom it is dedicated, played the solo part with perfect understanding and enthusiasm.

The chamber music concert, given by the "*Pro Arte*" Piano Quartet, offered little that particularly commended itself. Ferenc Szabó's string Quartet no. 1 was written thirty years ago: its indebtedness to easily identifiable models is obvious. Even if unpretentious, the work yet shows the qualities which characterize the composer's later music: a kind of wayward, diffident lyricism and a predilection for simple designs and straightforward expression. Of the two piano quartets on the programme neither could be accepted as of any great consequence. But while Copland's slick and fashionable vapidity runs along streamlined channels, Viozzi's richly emotional and turbulent ideas were struggling for a proper scheme of communication.

The most valuable chamber composition was Petrassi's long-awaited string Quartet. Petrassi's first essay in the *genre* (discounting his *juvenilia*) is in one continuous movement, though its constituent sections, "a series of interlinked episodes", are identifiable easily enough. It would be difficult to define exactly the style of this music. It might be likened to a kind of pleasant diversion, a "re-creative" intermezzo between more absorbing works in which the artist wrestles with the problems of the faithful communication of his inner vision. Such diversifying excursions are not exceptional in Petrassi's output: between *Coro di Morti* and *Morte dell'Aria* we have the gay and extrovert *Il cordovano*; and between *Noche Oscura* and the series of concertos beginning with the third, the "Nonsense" settings.



Unproblematic and light as it may appear to be, the string Quartet reveals nevertheless some serious "background" thinking: from a restricted number of episodic ideas and motifs Petrassi manages to organize an extended if capricious musical argument. And though he has been obliged to accept certain limitations, he surprises us with a new world of sonorities—refined, delicate, yet vibrating with nervous tension: not unlike the sound of *Invenzione Concertata* which preceded it.

Apart from Pizzetti's new choral cantata, "*Vanitatum Vanitas*"—a respectable effort without adding anything to the long established stature of its composer—there were three works of which a few words must be said.

Dallapiccola's *Concerto per la Notte di Natale dell'Anno 1956* for chamber orchestra and voice appeared to be by far the most noteworthy as "contemporary" music: we were again bewitched by the mysterious beauty of sound which makes his music so admirably distinguishable from among most of his contemporaries. Although his dodecaphonism is unthinkable without Webern, his textures are much more substantial: he obviously attaches importance to the proper support of emphatic incidents in the music and dramatic accents in the voice. The text is chosen from the *laudi* of Jacopone da Todi; the work divides into Prologue, Interlude, and Epilogue for orchestra, with the two hymns, separated by the interlude, for voice and orchestra. The soprano solo was interpreted by Magda László, and her considerable musical and vocal talents had no little share in the success of the work.

I must admit that I have been impervious to the qualities of most of Ghedini's music: but I was agreeably surprised listening to his new *Sonata da Concerto* for flute and orchestra. It is not only an admirable show-piece for the solo-instrument—and as such alone it will have to be cherished by flautists everywhere—but a piece of electric vitality, imagination, and level-headed musical thinking. Yet the material itself, the "primary invention" could not be said to have striking personal qualities—we have the traditional arsenal of chromatic sequences, ruminating solos, and a pastoral climate in the slow movement—and yet the effect of the music as a whole is spontaneous and convincing.

Much the same could be said of Gianfrancesco Malipiero's piano Concerto no. 5, which is the most recent testimony to the alertness and enterprise of this much-loved septuagenarian. One cannot help feeling amazed at his surprising powers of rejuvenation and the sense of life with which he has abandoned a well-established personal idiom to explore the approach to new territories of experience. His overridingly harmonic style was conspicuous among his contemporaries: one could tell his music by its harmonic progression (or stagnation as the malicious would have it) alone. His new idiom, on the other hand, favours counterpoint: it discloses an unexpectedly rich vein of instrumental inventiveness. His rhythmic schemes are, consequently, more sophisticated and enlivening; his melodic imagination more concise and shapely—and in his endeavour to participate in contemporary problems he has even explored the dodecaphonic method. Since exhibitionism and showmanship are alien to his fastidious musical personality, the piano part, even though displaying remarkably effective solo writing, is conceived essentially as a characteristic contribution to the musical argument. It is interesting to note that the old Malipiero is still in evidence in the slow movement, the appropriate territory for his typically melismatic and ruminative discourse. The exhilarating finale is the supreme proof of his undiminished gifts.

Finally the two soloists must be mentioned: Severino Gazzelloni's flute-playing combined brilliancy, elegance and musicianship; and Gino Gorini, whose familiarity with Malipiero's music dates back to his student years, and who appeared as soloist in the previous four concertos, proved himself again the ideal interpreter. Mario Rossi was in charge of the orchestra throughout the evening, and his personality was sufficient guarantee of a high standard of performance.

J. S. W.



## Book Reviews

### BALLET

In this fourteenth year of the continuing post-war boom in ballet it is scarcely surprising that books on the subject have been falling on to the booksellers' counters as thick as leaves in Vallombrosa. And, by the law of averages, it is even less surprising that—at long last—three books on the particular subject of ballet music have appeared recently.

What none of their three authors seems to have realized is that ballet music derives from music for dancing (about the oldest form and with a connected, traceable history); and that no discussion of today's uses of music in the dance theatre can make sense unless contemporary custom and achievement are weighed against the custom and achievement of all the dance-composers since the fifteenth century.

Humphrey Searle's *Ballet Music* (Cassell, 21s.) attempts a brief historical survey but it is too obviously an amateur's appreciation disregarding the varying interrelationships between music and dance for five or six centuries. To write this sort of study requires a deep understanding of the social history of dancing in our civilization; dance (and its music) have been as much influenced in their forms by current religious, philosophic and social idiom as has, for instance, the art of architecture.

Roger Fiske's *Ballet Music* (Harrap, 12s. 6d.) is more direct; the author simply has no time for music adapted for balletic use and discusses only "serious" full-length scores, i.e. those of some of the survivors of the nineteenth century's output of 450 full-length ballets and four modern ones. His study points out that about half of any "classical ballet" score we hear has probably been orchestrated—and improved upon—by someone other than the original composer. When you listen to *Swan Lake* don't be under the illusion that you continuously hear what Tchaikovsky wrote.

But the outstandingly important work is the most recent: *The Decca Book of Ballet* edited by David Drew (Muller, 63s.), with a long list of really distinguished writers and an equally long list of good triers. The format, the optimism of the several prefaces, introductions, forewords, etc. (and the price) surely suggest that this is the encyclopaedic work on the subject that the ballet world has needed for at least twenty-five years. In that period I calculate that roughly two thousand recognizable ballets have been concocted in and around Europe and America—this is without adding all the achievements of the "modern" or "expressionist" dancers from Isadora Duncan to Valerie Bettis. Even today, there are surviving enough choreographers, *régisseurs* and dancers who took part in a majority of these works; given time and money it would be possible to re-establish a world repertoire of twentieth century ballet comprising about eleven or twelve hundred ballets.

How the choice of entries for *The Decca Book* was made is absolutely unguessable; about three-quarters of contemporary and recent achievements are overlooked, and the quarter dealt with includes some ballets that were obvious total flops at their *premières*. Why their music should be semi-immortalized in print here is anybody's guess. On the other hand, whatever you think of Diaghilev or his company, he cannot be dismissed as a talented amateur precursor of Ninette de Valois. The man—and what he did—counted for something; but Mr. Drew omits discussion of the music of one-third of all the Diaghilev repertoire—which equals about one-half of all the music specially composed for this company. His three principal choreographers after Fokine are still active and have exercised a phenomenal influence on all ballet-making everywhere; their total achievement to date is not less than 200 ballets—and roughly fifty receive some analysis and serious discussion in these pages. The list of contemporary composers for ballet, not one of whose works is mentioned save occasionally for the fact that it actually *did* get composed, includes Alfven, Antheil, Atterburg—Bate, Bax, Benjamin . . . down to Sauguet and Shostakovich. Constant Lambert was created as a ballet musician by Diaghilev: his ballet is not even mentioned.

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Given these omissions, the book has some use as a rough guide to certain composers who often happen to have written ballet music. There are sound analyses of the music and perceptive marginal comments on the ballets concerned by Colin Mason, David Drew, Michael Williamson, Clive Barnes and William Mann. Most of the photographs have been seen in other books or magazines; the discography lists every ballet recorded by Decca and the index has remarkably few omissions or literal errors. Correctly titled "The Decca Book of some Ballets", it would be a valuable introductory volume for teenage ballet fans aware that the music is a fairly important ingredient of a ballet performance.

A. V. C.

### STRAVINSKY

The bibliography of writings on Igor Stravinsky numbers over 600 titles. All manner of opinions (both conceivable and inconceivable) have been voiced. The air has been made heavy with contradiction and confusion. Constant Lambert describes Stravinsky's melodic writing as being "marked by extreme short-windedness"; Henry Boys, on the contrary, speaks of its "long lines". Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno thinks Stravinsky's music is "schizophrenic", while Hans Keller prefers the diagnosis "sado-masochistic". Roger Sessions declares that "Stravinsky has left a permanent and essentially indestructible mark on Western music", but Geoffrey Sharp dissents and holds that Stravinsky is "the arch-chameleon among composers, and it is not easy to see where his fundamental message lies or indeed if there is one". A favourite pastime of critics has been the old game of Stravinsky versus Schönberg.

After such unhealthily alternating blasts of cold and hot air, it is refreshing to find that somebody has had the idea of air-conditioning. This is the effect of the latest addition by the Italian Roman Vlad to the Stravinskian bibliography.\*

The volume grew out of a series of nineteen talks by Vlad on the *opera omnia* of Igor Stravinsky, commissioned and transmitted by the Terze Programma of Radiotelevisione Italiana in 1955-56. The outline of the talks has been filled in with analytical detail and account has been taken of Stravinsky's music written in 1956-58. Vlad's expository method has remained the same, however. Though this method sometimes realizes the praiseworthy wish to appeal to the musically literate layman as well as to the more skilled musician, sometimes the music is explained in a way that would be perfectly straightforward to the ear but which becomes unnecessarily repetitious as a piece of reading matter.

Vlad's method has been a patient and pertinacious analysis of the *corpus* in strict chronological order. One would have thought that this simple expedient towards clarification would have occurred to other musicologists: in point of fact, only three others have essayed chronological analysis—the studies by Boris de Schloezer, Paris, 1929; Paul Collaer, Brussels, 1931; and Jacques Handschin, Zurich, 1933. Vlad's book of 1958 gives him an obvious vantage point from which he can get his subject into perspective more accurately than anyone else has done so far.

(Incidentally, it is a curious fact that, out of a bibliography of over 600 writings on Stravinsky, only one book on him has appeared in the USSR—the volume by Igor Glieboff, Leningrad, 1928.)

As for the critic's imaginary and ridiculous contest between Stravinsky and Schönberg, Vlad shows his impatience with it on his first page. He states with admirable clarity that these two figures "determine the poles around which and between which are grouped the tendencies and movements of other composers of our century. For a long time it seemed as if Stravinsky and Schoenberg were irreconcilable and had destroyed the unity of the language of music. Today, however, many symptoms persuade us that the paths they open up find somewhere a zone of convergence. Their positions now seem no longer contradictory but complementary".

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\* *Stravinsky* by Roman Vlad. Pp. 253. (Einaudi, Milan.) 1958.

There is diversion as well as reflection in the book. We see Stravinsky in collaboration with Diaghilev, Nijinski and Picasso. We also see him in tentative collaboration with Mr. Billy Rose, the Broadway producer. There is a delicious anecdote about this. In 1944, Rose invited Stravinsky to write music for a show. When the score was delivered and rehearsed, Rose sent Stravinsky a telegram: "Great success. Stop. Would be sensational if you authorise arranger X to retouch orchestration. Stop. Mr. X also arranges Cole Porter operas. Stop. Telegraph consent". Stravinsky replied immediately: "Satisfied with great success". The score left Broadway for the New York Philharmonic, who in 1945 gave it its *première* as the *Scènes de Ballet*.

The chapter on *The Rite of Spring* is written with apparent dash and relish, *vide* this quotation: "Never was there heard music more brutal, more savage, more aggressive, and (apparently) more chaotic; music that bowls the listener over with the violence of a cataclysm like an unleashed force of nature. *The Rite of Spring* is the exact opposite of all those sweet 'Springs' that innumerable musicians, painters and writers have made so familiar to us. . . . As the first three notes of Weber's *Oberon* seem to open doors to the Romantic world, so do these astringent sounds transport us immediately to the atavistic remoteness of a prehistoric world". To those who know Vlad's first book of essays, *Modernità e Tradizione nella Musica Contemporanea* (Einaudi, Milan, 1955), such finesse of verbal perspective-drawing will be familiar.

Readers who also know his Luigi Dallapiccola, 1957, and his magisterial *Storia della Dodecaфония*, 1958 (both published by Suvini Zerboni, Milan) will also recognize the sureness of touch in his exegesis of the most recent phase of Stravinsky's career, his exploration of serial composition. This is probably the most acute part of a book in which acuteness of critical faculty is so much in evidence as to be in danger of being taken for granted. One would think that the publication in America of an English translation of Vlad's book must be inevitable.

Roman Vlad (who is still under 40) is a musician of many gifts: composer, pianist, lecturer, teacher, organizer of concerts—all these apart from his being one of Italy's leading music critics. Not the least of his gifts is his ability to make thinking as infectious as some people make laughter. The present writer has thought many times about Stravinsky, but Vlad is the only one for some time now who has made him think again on the subject—that is, the only one apart from Stravinsky himself, who, more than any other contemporary composer, is forever making one think afresh.

As I read Vlad's book, an analogy *à propos* Stravinsky presented itself to me early on and remained with me. The analogy is suggested by the title of Stravinsky's op. 4: *Fireworks*, which seems to me to epitomise his whole career as a composer. The firework's cascades of colour clearly symbolize the brilliant early orchestral works composed under the *aegis* of his teacher, Rimsky-Korsakov; and the ensuing electrifying explosion is not merely a symbol but a recognizable description of *The Rite of Spring*. After the explosion, a last few trickles of colour—the dying fall of *The Nightingale*—then the dust falls here and there in complex patterns: the neo-classical *formulae* of Stravinsky's work since the end of World War I to the present. That the dust has sometimes been interpreted scripturally as an intimation of mortality (in the *Symphony of Psalms* and *Threni*) is no denial that the composer is no longer concerned with colour but with design.

Vlad's book is generously illustrated with over eighty beautifully clear examples in music type. Most of these contain *ostinato* or sequential ideas—perhaps the only constant feature in Stravinsky's ever fluctuating styles. I suggest that this easily comprehended factor is at the root of the reason for Stravinsky's popularity in an age that demands rhythmic interest as the first requisite of music.

In the history of music there have been thousands of composers, but they all conform to one of two types: their work is either a beginning or an end. For instance, Bach is a beginning and Wagner an end. Bach has had many disciples: one thinks of late Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms, Reger, Busoni and Hindemith among others; but Wagner, rich in admirers, has not a single follower, because his artistic aspirations are consummated in himself. Now the phenomenon that is Stravinsky presents a figure unique



in the history of music who is both innovator and consummator. To be precise. Among his innovations are: the bizarre tritone key-relationships of *Petrushka*, 1910; utterly original orchestration, e.g. the strange primordial voice of the bassoon in high register which opens *The Rite*, 1913; the propulsive, obsessional, kinetic rhythms and the equally obsessional strident discords of the same work. All these things are demonstrably ends in themselves. You cannot develop a key-relationship so complete as a juxtaposition of C and F sharp major chords, any more than you can work out a fraction, once the lowest common factors have been obtained. Likewise, to reverse traditional procedure in orchestration or harmony is not to develop anything except iconoclasm. It is surely to Stravinsky's credit that he realized this *impasse* and thenceforth devoted his energies to counterpoint, which is, and has been for five centuries, the one constant factor in music.

I believe an old Russian ceremonial dead march follows the pattern of two steps forward and one step backward. Stravinsky's progress since the end of World War I, with its constant reference to music of the past, has followed that pattern, except that the march, as he has executed it, has been a very lively dead march. Verdi said that to return to Palestrina would be a step forward. Busoni called that "a pacifist's war-cry", but Stravinsky has told us that he accepts it.

Stravinsky's career since 1920 has been positively Juanesque. He has flirted with one after another of the muses of eighteenth-century composers. In doing so he seems to have misinterpreted Busoni's concept of a *junge Klassizität*, and mistranslated it into the slogan of neo-classicism, a very different matter—"back to Bach", if not to Palestrina. It is here that we may invoke the name of Schönberg, in recalling the words at the beginning of *Die Jakobsleiter*: "We have to go on without asking/What lies behind or ahead./It will remain hidden from you./You should, you must, forget it./To fulfil your task".

Latterly Stravinsky is reported to have developed an admiration for the music of Schönberg's great pupil, Webern, and has experimented in serial composition. This, admirable as it is in openness of mind, nevertheless indicates that Stravinsky, after a lifetime's prodigious creativeness, has not evolved an organic system of composition but is obliged to fall back on to the methods of a younger composer than himself (albeit one already deceased).

In the middle of the twentieth century it is a political commonplace to say that the two dominant cultures of the world are those of America and Russia. I am not aware, however, that it is platitudinous to point out that Igor Stravinsky is the unique instance of a composer who has embraced both Russian and American cultures. That fact makes him representative of his age in a way that cannot be matched by any other composer.

His genius carries to the ultimate the bold, the bizarre, and even the banal. His boldness is that of a great poster-artist-in-music. His *bizarrie* is both gallant and choleric and is the reason, and not the excuse, for his prodigious eclecticism. We accept his banality because it is intentional, because it is gargantuan, and because it is so characteristic of its epoch.

Even a Russian, Dmitri Shostakovitch, cannot deny Stravinsky his genius, for in the *Figaro Littéraire*, 31st May, 1958, Shostakovitch in interview and in response to the question: *Quel est votre avis sur l'évolution musicale de Stravinsky?* answered: *Je fais une discrimination entre son talent et son orientation esthétique.*

R. S.

Igor Strawinsky. *Zeitgeschichte im Persönlichkeitsbild. Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen zur modernen Konstruktionstechnik.* Helmut Kirchmeyer. Pp. xvi + 792. (Gustav Bosse, Regensburg.) 1958. DM. 75.00.

The main title is a palpable misnomer. Of the volume's 800 odd pages only about a tenth is devoted to the music and the artistic aims of Stravinsky. That particular section had been presented in 1954 to the University of Cologne as a doctoral Thesis under the heading: "Untersuchungen zur Konstruktionstechnik Igor Strawinskys". In its revised form it turns up again as part IV of the present volume. It is well worth reading,



containing an intelligent comment on certain problems of intervallic combinations, on permutation, on the extension of tonality and on constructive chromaticism—phenomena in no way exclusively connected with Stravinsky, but here discussed mainly as characteristic finger-prints of that composer's neo-classical period between the two world wars. In addition, Stravinsky's philosophical tenets, referring to the aesthetics of music in general and chiefly embodied in the Harvard University Lectures of his *Musikalische Poetik* (Mainz, 1949) are discussed at some length in part I, which also devotes some space to Stravinsky's position within the framework of the Russian musical tradition. It is curious to see part I headed by a chapter called "Stravinsky's Russentum" when at the same time in another German book—*Die Musik Russlands und der Sowjetunion* by Karl Laux (Henschelverlag, Berlin, 1958)—the very name of Stravinsky is all but absent. Finally, the author has gratifyingly provided a well organized catalogue of works which clears up some of the numerous bibliographical ambiguities clinging so tenaciously to Stravinsky's music publications. However, the reader will look in vain for a systematic assessment of Stravinsky's music in its historical order or for a coherent narrative of his creative life. As a monograph on the greatest composer alive the book falls badly short of expectations. In fact it often gives the impression that Stravinsky's personality and certain works of his (like the piano Sonata and the piano Serenade in A) are used only as a pretext for a discussion of general musical developments as they occurred between 1920 and 1938.

By far the greatest part of Kirchmeyer's book is a kind of running commentary on the ever changing facets and slogans of musical fashion between the two world wars, as they emerge from the pages of four prominent Austro-German music periodicals: *Die Musik*, *Zeitschrift für Musik*, *Melos*, *Anbruch* (the latter incorporating also *Pult und Taktstock*). An all too meticulous study of the often severely contradictory contributions in these magazines (listed in a comprehensive bibliography running close to 50 pages) has afflicted the author with a form of mental indigestion with the result that much of part II ("Kritik und Polemik-Dokumente zur Zeitgeschichte") is unreadable in its welter of quotation, analysis and critical aside. Moreover, the picture of European musical cross-currents, as drawn by Kirchmeyer, is rather lopsided, excluding, as it does, the entire Anglo-American hemisphere of music from every argument. While it is all to the author's credit to unmask little critical tin gods of the Nazi era, such as Alfred Heuss and Fritz Stege, and to pillory the megalomania of German nationalism in the musical field, I would hesitate to call his presentation of musical events an historically correct one. I must emphasize that personal doubt, for Kirchmeyer's bibliography contains also a fair number of my own articles, published in the aforementioned periodicals between 1920 and 1939. How little German music journalism in all its vindictive pettiness was able to hold up the victory of really great modern music I have attempted to show in my book on Alban Berg (German edition, Vienna, 1957) when discussing the fate of *Wozzeck* throughout the composer's lifetime. I honestly believe that Kirchmeyer heavily overestimates the importance and influence of critical nonentities such as Paul Schwers and Emil Petschnig. A sense of proportion seems missing all the while in this book whose valuable bibliographical clarifications are constantly in danger of being crowded out by irrelevant gossip and chatter. The really intriguing problems of modern music—the serial principle, Dodecaphony, Webern's influence on Stravinsky's works from the Septet onward, Electronic music—are only skirted and, especially in the case of Stravinsky's latest works, almost totally ignored. Hence the publishers' claim to have presented here the standard documentary work on New Music is hardly acceptable.

Gustav Mahler. *The early Years*. By Donald Mitchell. Pp. xviii + 275. (Rockliff.) 1958. 42s.

Donald Mitchell planned a comprehensive monograph on Mahler in 1953 when his later publishers announced a forthcoming volume, *Gustav Mahler and the Twentieth Century*, a title mentioned again in the preface of my book, *Bruckner and Mahler* (London, 1955).

Hence the volume under discussion is in the nature of a first instalment. In fact its preface makes it quite clear that two volumes are intended. Since volume I deals only with the first twenty years of Mahler's life, confining a discussion of his music to the early Cantata *Das Klagende Lied* and to the songs which antedate the *Songs of a Wayfarer* and the first Symphony, one is left to speculate on the gargantuan size of the future volume II. However, the narrow biographical compass of the present study is not without its compensations. It concentrates on Mahler's obscure beginnings, utilizing some new and interesting material which helps to brighten up the darkness enshrouding Mahler's early years. Mitchell publishes a facsimile of the "Birth Register of the Council of Jewish Religious Congregations in Prague" which confirms 7th July, 1860, as Mahler's date of birth and Herrmann as his mother's maiden name. The document, which is in Czech, bears the date 26th November, 1953, and thus is not a first-hand source at all. Mahler who was born as an Austrian subject must have received a birth-certificate styled in German, the official language of the Empire. However, there is no reason to doubt the factual accuracy of this documentary evidence *a posteriori*. More important, Mitchell also publishes (on plate VII) a facsimile of the first page of Mahler's early piano Quartet (1876) which has hitherto been considered lost and of which the first movement has actually survived. Finally, he has been able to track down (if not to see and to investigate at close quarters) the still unpublished part I ("*Spielmann*") of *Das Klagende Lied* (first described in my book of 1955, on page 174 ff.) as well as several early songs. Of these, one is actually identical with the published song *Hans und Grete* whose date of completion (5th March, 1880), first ascertained by Mitchell, associates it closely with the date of "*Spielmann*" (21st March, 1880) from which Mitchell reproduces a facsimile of the final page of the sketch (plate XI) together with several fascinating pages from the "Particell" and the MS. score of the published part I (recte part II, originally called *Waldmärchen*). It seems a pity that these *juvenilia* continue to remain unpublished and inaccessible.

Mitchell's thorough thematic analyses of the quartet movement as of the whole of *Das Klagende Lied*, and also his lucid comment on the early songs, published and unpublished, represent a valuable contribution to Mahler scholarship. In his zestfully written and eminently readable narrative of Mahler's childhood and adolescence the author leans heavily on earlier biographers. In his critical assessment of their labours—embodied in a bulky appendix of footnotes—he is appreciative and censorious by turns. In his classification of the elements of Mahler's lyrical style, as it becomes manifest in *Das Klagende Lied*, Mitchell sometimes tends to differ from the opinion of commentators such as Ernst Klenek and myself, without however offering convincing counter-arguments of his own. Some inaccuracies, probably based on linguistic misunderstandings, call for correction in a future second edition. Bibliographical references are occasionally misleading, as in the case of Paul Stefan's study on Mahler. That book (which ran through seven editions) is actually quoted from its seventh edition (Munich, 1921) and not, as stated on page xviii, from its revised edition, Munich, 1912. That edition (no. 4) is in my possession and tallies nowhere with Mitchell's page numbers, as given in the Notes. "Morawan, Ronow (Maierhöfe bei Časlau)", referred to in Mahler's early letters, are not "Bohemian towns and villages" (as tentatively suggested in Note 19, p. 237) but simply dairy-farms in the neighbourhood of Časlav. To state (cf. p. 148) that Mahler commenced work in "Jugoslavia", is misleading for no such political state existed in 1880. Mahler simply went to Laibach, the capital of the Austrian crown land of Krain. Bruckner's over-polite reference to "die Herren Israeliten" would have been better translated by "the Jewish Esquires" than by "Mister Israelites". There are also a number of misprints of German words, notably on pp. 105 and 226. To sum up: Mitchell's book is a formidable achievement. It earmarks him as a future biographer and analyst of Mahler; it already adds useful new data which contribute to a better understanding of Mahler's origins; but it also makes it incumbent on its author to base the following volume (or volumes?) of his book on a critical appraisal of *all* existing MS. sources of Mahler's music. Every Mahler enthusiast will wish him well in that arduous task.

H. F. R.

*The Arts, Artists and Thinkers.* An inquiry into the place of the arts in human life. Edited by John M. Todd. Pp. xii + 345, ill. (Longmans, Green.) 1958. 35s.

Perhaps we may best summarize the objects of this symposium by quoting from page i:

"... How is [Art] compatible with a whole view of life? How can it be explained positively or religiously? What is the place of the Arts in human life? These were the questions put to those who took part in this symposium held at Downside in 1957".

So we see at once that the contributors have an axe to grind and we put it to the Editor's credit that he makes no attempt to hide the fact. Some of our readers may recall the late president Roosevelt's "four freedoms" which he promulgated some fifteen years ago: freedom from want and fear, freedom of speech and what an exasperated schoolboy understandably transcribed as freedom from religion.

Here we have the various arts subjected to scrutiny primarily in order to demonstrate how they may be held to complement and just possibly also to amplify certain tenets of the Catholic faith. The authors are thus confronted with an impossible brief; Art into Religion "won't go", though in some cases religion has been made to "go" into art. But let us see how music fares at the hands of Mr. Alec Robertson.\* On the first page of his article he is put to grave disadvantage and the reader infuriated by the following footnote, that "a number of points in this paper were illustrated by musical examples which unfortunately cannot be reproduced here". If the Editor and Publisher of a serious work of this nature agree, as apparently they do in this case, that the omission of the music examples is unfortunate, why did they not include them?

However, we must suppose that Mr. Robertson agreed to the excision of his illustrations and try to make sense of his argument without them. The core is to be found in his second paragraph:

"... If music is a language, with its own special methods of articulation and expression, it must have meaning; and that meaning can only lie in the ordered sounds of a composition, not, in the final analysis, in anything extra-musical".

Precisely. And later we read:

"Every serious listener to music has to work out his technique of listening, with honesty and true humility".

which is also true but continuously variable with the age and experience of the listener. So far so good; it is only when our author begins to try to relate music to religion that signs of logical strain emerge and what has begun as a fascinating discourse descends to mere nebulous waffle. Mr. Robertson argues that the expression of beauty is the highest attainment of existence in the aesthetic and metaphysical categories and, presumably, up to this point no one will be seriously inclined to disagree with him. But, and here the waffle starts, if this is so "it is only because of God's creation of the world as an act of love". I am reminded of an undergraduate friend who, some twenty-five years ago, called his old motorcycle-combination God because it moved in a mysterious way its wonders to perform—a reason which, in my view, only Christian prejudice could equate with blasphemy.

A much more valuable inquiry into the place of the arts in human life could be carried out if the planners were to start without religious strings attached.

G. N. S.

\* On page 139 he presents two quotations from this journal and on page 140 a third—the first not entirely accurate—for which I have no recollection of being asked permission. These are taken from Hans Tischler's article, "The Aesthetic Experience", on pp. 189 to 204 of our August 1956 issue.

## Gramophone Records

*Bartók: Concerto for Orchestra; Cantata Profana.*

Dickie, Hurschell, the Vienna Chamber Choir and Orchestra, c. Hollreiser.

Vox PL 10,480.

Each of the five previous versions of the *Concerto for Orchestra* available in this country has taken up a whole record. The *Cantata Profana* appears for the first time. This record should, then, present an excellent bargain and it very nearly succeeds.

The *Cantata Profana* is Bartók's only major choral work and was written in 1930 shortly after the completion of the fourth string Quartet and the two Rhapsodies for violin dedicated to Szigeti. The work is divided into three parts: "The Nine Sons", "The meeting with the Father" and "This was the Legend".

A wonderful poetic mysticism, here perfectly conveyed, pervades the first episode. The balance between chorus and orchestra, although not excellent, is well distributed.

The second episode, opening with an anxious rhythmic figure portraying the father's search for his missing sons, and the brilliant fugue that immediately follows, maintains the balance less happily. The contrapuntal complexity is enormous, and it is such a pleasure to have a recording of this work at all that one should not forget how difficult a task Vox have set themselves, when finding fault with it. During the second section the orchestra seem to recede into the background and accompany the somewhat unsteady Vienna Chamber Choir in an indistinguishable flood of sound, apart from the infrequent moments when the latter are not engaged. As a result it is impossible without a score to follow clearly the composer's complex lines of musical thought.

It is perhaps, also unkind to criticize the soloists when they are asked to deal with such fiendishly difficult parts as Bartók has given them. I find the pinched tone of Murray Dickie's voice, however, utterly unsuited to this kind of patriotic fervour. (The work was written as a protest against the powers of the Regent Horthy.) He sounds really miserable when tackling a phrase such as the high extended entreaty with which the tenor part opens or when he bursts out of the murmuring chorus in the final bars.

Edmond Hurschell is certainly more at ease but his diction is very poor.

The last episode suffers from a considerable amount of end of side distortion. (This side also contains the last movement of the *Concerto for Orchestra*.)

There are occasions when a lack of technical perfection and a not altogether satisfactory recording need not spoil a performance. They are rare but this amazing version of the *Concerto for Orchestra* is one of them.

It is one of those astonishingly vital performances in which the whole orchestra are really enjoying themselves. Hollreiser has managed to charge them into a fervour of enthusiasm that brings out, not only passages of real genius from some of the wind players, but also a stupendous overall excitement.

The end of this work is here propelled into a chaotic frenzy, but it does not matter and neither do the many other small faults. This performance has genius. One review of it I've come across describes the excessive resonance as sounding as if it had been recorded in St. Pancras Station; I would only add that I would joyfully rush to St. Pancras or the Albert Hall to hear it. It would still be a wonderful experience.

*Brahms: Symphony no. 3 in F major, op. 90.*

*Variations on a Theme by Haydn, op. 56a.*

The Symphony Orchestra of the Southwest German Radio Baden-Baden, c. Horenstein.

Vox PL 10,620.

This is the most slapdash and disgraceful performance of any symphony that I have ever heard put on to a gramophone record. The recorded sound is harsh and metallic and

lacks any depth. The string tone is a painful wheeze and most of the woodwind instruments play so unmusically that I can imagine the less experienced listener finding difficulty in distinguishing between them.

If the curiosity instinct is strong enough in any reader, I would suggest putting this record on at the beginning.

It will immediately be necessary to remind oneself that this is not a trumpet concerto. The principal trumpeter leads each of the three opening chords with furious gusto but few of the other wind players seem to be there. At the seventh and ninth bars the violins slur their quavers. At bars thirteen and fourteen the trumpets have a little fanfare virtually all alone. No suspicion of phrasing or "singing" goes into the violins' theme that follows (bars 15-18). Bars 19 and 20 in my score show two triplet phrases in each, yet this recording can only find room for one in each.

The record, which also has on it the Haydn Variations, should now be taken off and what has been heard should be forgotten.

*Brahms: The four symphonies.*

The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, c. Kubelik.

Decca LXT 5417; 5339; 5419; 5214.

With their issue in June of last year of the first Symphony, Decca completed their generally unfortunate set of the Brahms symphonies with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra under Kubelik.

It is undoubtedly true to say that Brahms' orchestral works are today the most blatantly misinterpreted masterpieces in the whole range of symphonic literature up to 1885. Satisfying performances of the symphonies are very rare. Why?

Brahms was an avid student of the classics. He was a true musicologist and a sentimentalist. His symphonies represent German nineteenth-century middle-class romanticism in all its vulgarity and sincerity, and therefore at its best. His music is grand not heroic, pensive not genteel, comprehensive not momentary and it contains throughout an unparalleled certainty of style. This style, although creatively individual, is fundamentally as classical as Beethoven's; it is through a lack of understanding of this that most conductors today fail to convince.

It is virtually impossible to believe that these four records have been recorded under the same conductor. Kubelik approaches these symphonies and each of their movements in such numerous and widely varying styles, that one is forced to the conclusion that in the two or three instances where he really does get to the heart of Brahms and bring off a really satisfying movement, it is more through good luck than true understanding.

Perhaps Kubelik would agree with Shaw who said:

"strip off the euphuism from these symphonies, and you will find a string of incomplete dance and ballad tunes, following one another with no more organic coherence than the succession of passing images reflected in a shop-window in Piccadilly during any twenty minutes of the day".

The "organic coherence" in Brahms' symphonies is at the root of their greatness, but Kubelik seems often to lose it completely and at times instils into the music his own coherence. The results are unforgettable!

With an experienced orchestra, like the Vienna Philharmonic, Kubelik would have come more than half way to success had he merely beaten absolutely strict time and not diverged therefrom unless asked to do so by the composer. But *dolce* and *espress.* are at times interpreted to mean virtually halving the *tempo* and the appearance of *agitato* in the score has even more startling results!

The introduction to the first movement of the C minor Symphony seems simply to start us off rather than burst upon us, and the return of the opening phrase at bar 30 has equally little thunder.



But the *Allegro* section starts well and apart from some minor irritants the movement is forcefully projected. The orchestral sound is often muffled but this is the fault more of the recording engineers than the players. For example the horn and clarinet are completely lost in their answering phrases at bars 148-151, and the intended effect of alternative wind and string chords is lost in a sludge of sound.

From bars 487 to the end of the *allegro* the slowing up is so considerable that when Brahms asks for *meno allegro* at bar 495 there is no room left for any further adjustment in *tempo*.

The *andante* is so over sentimentalized that the pensive tranquillity that should prevail in this movement is forgotten and a whole string of pretty phrases put in its place. It is impossible to imagine how so little feeling could have been put into the magnificent passage starting at bar 37 where the violins ascend alone on a major scale to glorious heights gradually pulling the second violins and violas with them. One of the most electrifyingly beautiful moments in music is lost here by interpreting the passage as though it had been marked *stringendo*. The violin soloist plays well enough, but why did he have to spoil it by pausing between his last triplet phrase and the last note of the movement?

In the *allegretto* we find a well balanced and delicate approach perhaps more suited to this conductor. Here again the movement is spoiled at the very end. What has happened to the last three notes on the cellos and basses?

The *adagio* is taken through in leaps and bounds and in a fervour of continual strain and over excitement. The pressure is so great that exhaustion sets into the listener before the movement is half over. The quieter moments are all treated as mere breathers before the next onslaught. The sound is superb, however, and I can't remember having heard the *stringendo* passage in the opening bars more perfectly played.

It is usual to look upon the D major Symphony as a product of the more philoprogenitive side of Brahms' nature. Beecham's old Columbia recording on LX 515-9 is a wonderful performance in this vein.

Kubelik, however, squeezes every last drop of drama out of the first two movements and the last. This record is undoubtedly a great success and if only some of the maturity that he brings out here had been forthcoming in any of the other three records, there would not be such ample cause to reject this conductor as an interpreter of Brahms' orchestral music.

I have absolutely no complaint with the really magnificent readings of the first two movements which are packed with wonderful things as well as resulting in an entirely satisfying whole. Even the somewhat unusual sound caused by the trombones slurring their notes after bar 224 in the *Allegro* is acceptable in a full-blooded performance such as this. At bar 154 in the same movement the flute part, usually quite inaudible, comes singing out like a descant over the second violins and violas. Indeed the balance is exceptional throughout.

Curiously enough the somewhat unsatisfactory third movement of this Symphony does not, as one might have supposed, improve by being in more complete contrast to interpretations such as these of the two preceding movements. However it is here treated to a light and lively performance that does little to lessen my uneasiness about the music.

The fourth movement is again worked out with a grandeur and drama that is overwhelming. The *tempo* is extremely accurate throughout and the orchestral sound here, as on the whole record, is very good. The recording is rich and exciting.

It is in the F major Symphony that Kubelik runs completely off the rails. Brahms played in this manner is quite unbearable and although the recording is excellent and there are many moments of vulgar excitement this sort of reading shows a complete lack in this conductor of that fundamental understanding which I tried to describe earlier.

Apparently Kubelik finds this music uninspired or too romanticized for his endless *rubati* and changes of *tempo* can only hope to be taken seriously (although never by me)



if he really believes that he is helping the composer's rather dull efforts to be put over by bringing out the highlights.

It is extraordinary that it is in this Symphony more than the first or the fourth that Kubelik falls to pieces. One would have thought that the F major would drive itself along more readily than either of the latter, and surely even more curious is the thought that the D major must be nursed or driven more than any of the other three.

But here he is continuously seeking out the momentary effect entirely regardless of what result this may have on the movement or the symphony as a whole. This music is symphonic writing at its best and this sort of treatment is far too prevalent these days. An even worse offender is Jochum who does it consistently. (Listen to the first and last movements of his Brahms E minor on DGM 18183.)

What is so disturbing is that one can well imagine the less experienced listener going into raptures over a performance such as this and readily becoming convinced that it is a great one. The fact that the orchestral sound is magnificent and the recording, if not one of Decca's very best, is certainly brilliant and well balanced, would only go, unfortunately, to enhance that opinion.

Before looking at some examples of the more distressing features of this record, mention must be made of the one genuinely glorious moment in the last movement (bars 28-29) when the trombones are left alone to build up to the *crescendo* to the full orchestral outburst at bar 30. The noise is terrifying.

But the troubles begin almost from the start of the first *Allegro*. The lead up to the change from 6/4 to 9/4 at bars 34 and 35 and the delicious clarinet theme that follows and right through to the return to 6/4 at bar 49 is all played with no regard to *tempo* whatsoever. It dreams along in a dull meandering way that dismantles all the beauty that Brahms built into this passage. At bar 136 the same disregard for *tempo* occurs and by this time the movement has fallen completely to pieces; after one or two more horrors, an amazing *rubato* ending is eventually reached.

The *Andante* suffers in the same way; the supreme distortion appearing at bars 40 to 50; but the entire movement is consistently on the slow side.

The third movement is taken far too slowly and contains several of Kubelik's less enlightened utterances. Although the last movement strides along fairly happily nothing can now save the record from what has gone before.

Far too genteel and smooth a reading is given to both the first and second movements of the E minor Symphony. Admittedly the opening passage of this work is among the most difficult in the whole of orchestral music to phrase with any degree of intensity. The resigned tragedy of the philosophic Brahms that is found in his last Symphony materializes at once in the opening statement. To get the necessary feeling of inward solitude across from these first unintroduced notes is a feat few conductors manage to achieve. Kubelik glides immaturely into it, making the opening theme sound almost naïve.

The balance is not always good. For example at bar 41 in the second movement the cellos are hardly audible.

It is hard to imagine the C major movement being performed badly by this orchestra. Here they undoubtedly manage to instil into it the necessary wild excitement and daemonic merriment.

The passacaglia sounds almost unimportant. This movement—the crowning achievement of Brahms' symphonic output—must be played out as a tragedy, increasing in its relentless intensity to the bitter end.

Kubelik is so conscious of the variations for their own sake that no motive force is left to drive the movement along its inevitable course of insatiable yearning until it "storms to its tragic close" (Tovey).

J. J. C.

*Puccini: La Fanciulla del West*—Complete Opera.

Tebaldi (S), del Monaco (T), Macneil (Bar.), Tozzi (B) with Chorus and Orchestra of Accademia St. Cecilia, Rome, c. Capuana. Decca LXT 5463-5.\*

*Gluck, Verdi, Dvořák, Debussy and Mascagni.* Operatic Arias.

Inge Borkh with London Symphony Orchestra, c. Fistoulari. Decca LW 5335.\*

*Bellini, Rossini, Verdi, Bizet, Massenet, Thomas and Saint-Saëns.* Operatic Arias.

Giulietta Simionato with Orchestra of Accademia St. Cecilia, Rome, c. Ghione and Previtali. Decca LXT 5458.\*

Amongst the recent operatic output of Decca these issues rank very highly. Not old enough to have known about performances in London (1911, 1912) and always unlucky with the Puccini stream in Italy and New York, I had looked forward to versions of *The Girl of the Golden West* coming out in the Centenary year. Here is the first and it is excellent. As to performance: Minnie (Tebaldi), Dick Johnson (Monaco) and Jake Wallace (Tozzi) could not, one imagines, be sung and characterized better; their contributions, and that of the chorus, make one long to see them all in action, which is a hall-mark of good recorded opera. The remaining principal (Cornell Macneil) is good, but not uniformly so: he has a splendid voice but appears to lack that experience which makes the most of inflexions and nuances designed to help the action along. Example: at "*Minnie dalla mia casa son partito*" he sings warmly about "my little home among the mountains"; in reality he should be on edge with frustration and lust, the score itself indicating "with harsh and strident voice". That will not do with Puccini; things move too fast and a dramatic point has been irretrievably lost. The many minor roles are splendidly supported and the orchestra is superb. Production: the stage atmosphere is let down gratuitously at two points. After Jake Wallace's "*Che farano*" has evoked dreams of home in the drinking miners, these latter are instructed by Puccini to "beat the table" during their maudlin chorus and the beats have a clear musical purpose, each one carefully marked in the score. There are no beats. (Probably because in the studio there were no tables!) In the last act, Johnson pours out his love for Minnie just before he expects to be hanged by Sheriff Rance; this latter acts like a bully and hits the defenceless hero, at which precise point the crowd begins to turn its sympathy to the condemned man. The point is marked by sharp, spoken exclamations from the crowd; those exclamations are left out. Misses like these are all too typical of studio opera and could so easily be guarded against. As to the work: those who do not know it must imagine a Cavaradossi-Johnson hero whose blood wets the floor boards, a Tosca-Minnie bargain with Scarpia-Rance in which the stakes are similarly worse than death and in which the lady again cheats, and the rapid flowering of a Rudolf and Mimi affair with a cabin for an attic and a gallows tree for a death bed. The work does not succeed in putting its brutality into music of the strength of *Tosca* nor its humanity into arias with the charm of *Bohème*. But in spite of having to capture both atmospheres, it is self-consistent, and if there is a shortage of big tunes there are some adventures in atmospheric harmony that come as a surprise, and much very fine concerted writing for a large cast and chorus.

Space will only permit me to say that which is most important about the two recital records. Inge Borkh as a dramatic soprano and Giulietta Simionato as a real mezzo are amongst the very finest singers of our day. Those who doubt this, or who have not experienced the art of these two in extended works, will find these beautifully made records convincing enough, via the media of intelligently chosen and not always hackneyed arias.

J. B.

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\* Strongly recommended.

## Correspondence

2A Adur Avenue,  
Shoreham-by-Sea,  
Sussex.  
16th December, 1958.

To the Editor of THE MUSIC REVIEW.

### BACH

SIR,—How am I to resolve the collision of opinion between Hans Keller and myself over Thurston Dart's Bach records? I feel that it is unsatisfactory to leave this yawning gulf unclosed. First, of course, it should be pointed out that we were reviewing different records. I have not heard OL 50165, and it would seem that Mr. Keller had not heard the two discs of the suites when he wrote his review. This may not be important, as it seems likely that all records in this series will have characteristics in common. Now it has been obvious for some time past that Mr. Keller has been disturbed by certain trends in musicology, and many of his recent writings have been concerned with this issue; just as we have enjoyed his Freud period in the past, and continue to enjoy his trenchant Schönberg campaign—a kind of ground-bass that accompanies all the varied turns of his lively and inquisitive mind. But before this concern began for Mr. Keller, I had already expressed doubts about certain trends in musicology, notably, as a side issue, in my review of a set of Vivaldi records for MR. They were excellent; and I put the issue as one of professionalism, as opposed to Bach-Stokowski on the one hand, and Bach-Rothschild on the other. This really would appear to be Mr. Keller's position too, in spite of his very bad analogy of Bach-Busoni; so we may say that a large measure of the difference between us is one of degree.

But still this analogy seems to point to a further doubt in Mr. Keller's mind, a doubt reinforced by a possibly unconscious opposition in his writing between musicology and sense. In spite of his patently sincere protestation that he does not hate musicology, he nevertheless treats these two as if they were incompatibles. Well, to return to the Bach-Busoni, I greatly enjoy it; but I enjoy it as a kind of profound meditation by Busoni on a theme of Bach. It is sufficiently remote from Bach to be considered as a thing in itself. Busoni was a great and neglected genius, his compositions are very good; we can enjoy the quality of his mind in his very free arrangements of Bach. The quality of mind of other arrangers of Bach is mercilessly exposed in their orchestrations of his works, and if we are to consider the Busoni exclusively as a version of Bach, then the ultimate end of this argument is Bach-Stokowski and Bach-Klenovski. Just as a performer is in duty bound to follow meticulously the equally meticulous directions for performance that pepper a score by Schönberg, so is the same performer bound to play Bach as nearly as possible as Bach required; but since the conventions of early eighteenth-century notation precluded this detailed direction, then it is the job of the musicologist to discover, if possible, just what it was Bach wanted. Bach-Busoni can only be accepted as an actual interpretation of Bach if we are equally ready to accept the performance by the Foden's Motor Works Band—a really excellent brass band—of a Schönberg quartet. And what it would be necessary to do to the quartet to make this practicable is only what Busoni did to the Bach *Chaconne* to arrange it for an instrument—the modern concert grand—that Bach never visualized and could hardly imagine. Schönberg had at least heard a brass band.

I cannot entirely dismiss from my mind the possibility that Mr. Keller expects the suave *legato* phrasing and easy-going rhythms of the nineteenth century in a performance of Bach; when an actual difference of convention exists—as, for instance, to quote an obvious example, the French double-dotted rhythm—then unless that convention is understood no amount of musicianship (short of actual clairvoyance) will avail. This is just where Mr. Dart comes in; readers of his excellent book on the performance of music will be aware of the sheer responsibility of his attitude to the unceasing attempt to perform the music of the past as its creators wanted it performed. Nevertheless, I received a considerable shock when I discovered that his version of the first *Brandenburg* Concerto used trumpets for the familiar horn parts; I was on the point of writing to the Editor of this journal and retracting responsibility for my support of the set. Then I read the correspondence between Mr. Dart and Mr. Stevens in *The Gramophone* and was once more impressed by the fact that Mr. Dart knows just what he is doing. He made out a good case for those trumpets; but Mr. Keller will no doubt derive a great deal of satisfaction from the fact that it still sounds wrong to me. A possible explanation occurs to me that I would like to air. Is it possible that the difference in sound between the Waldhorn and the Jagdhorn was not so great as between the modern "Bach" trumpet and the modern horn, either natural or valve? There remains the question of the actual technical details of the performance. It is not entirely clear from Mr. Keller's account whether he is criticising insecurity of rhythm, or Mr. Dart's intended rhythmic reading, or both. That he feels less than happy about the revival of the habit of directing a performance from the harpsichord is evident. To begin with, whether we like it or not, the conductor with a baton is a comparatively recent phenomenon; if directing a performance from the harpsichord means shaky playing, why then, all the music of this period was badly played, and that's the end of it. Nevertheless, the music of this period was written with this kind of performance in view, and all kinds of internal ramifications result; it is not likely that Mr. Dart's performances are so very much worse than the usual eighteenth century ones, and they may easily be better than those of Bach himself; given Bach's wretched material, this seems likely.

In any case, apart from some slight doubts I have about the opening of the B minor Suite, very little seems to be wrong with the records heard by me; not absolutely outstanding—how often is a performance outstanding these days?—but good professional playing. I can only conclude once more that Mr. Keller is subconsciously expecting nineteenth century phrasing and rhythm.

Sense and nonsense—in a musical context. Given the fact that we were reviewing different records, I enjoyed, and continue greatly to enjoy, my records of the Bach suites; so much so that I wanted to share my joy with anyone who might read my review. I still feel that I have never enjoyed a performance of Bach so much; indeed, joy is the impression these records convey; the cold white joy of creation, divorced from all other considerations, something that perhaps is experienced only by the truly great artist, be he composer or performer. Only when Bach is played with due consideration of the conventions he himself accepted as the medium in which he wrote can this clear cold luminosity—heard also in the "Baroque" organ, a clinching point, in my opinion—be manifest. But—we disagree. If it can be said that we disagree about rhythmic reading, then it is up to Mr. Dart to prove his point. If we disagree about "musical sense"—which in Mr. Keller's context seems inevitably to be subjective criteria—then Mr. Keller and I can argue until Kingdom Come and never be able to prove our points. Musicology; "the science of music". Rightly interpreted, this can only mean "organized common sense"; in other words, if Mr. Keller and I cannot resolve our conflicting subjective impressions because it is impossible to prove this kind of thing, then Mr. Dart CAN prove his point, because he should have objective chapter and verse for it. Is it too much to hope that he will be tempted to do so?

It so happens that the same issue of MR contained a remark of Mr. Keller's that did rather hurt though; allow me to quote it.

"As a result, Beethoven lacks self-control (as a recent, pitiable psychoanalytic attempt, praised by all my colleagues, has it)".

I assume that the book, *Beethoven and His Nephew*, by the Sterbas, is meant. I agree with Mr. Keller that it was pitiable, and quite wrong. But—

Does Mr. Keller not want to acknowledge me as his colleague, even though I write for the same journal? Have I sunk that low?

Or didn't he read my lengthy review, which tore the book to pieces?

That I believe every other English reviewer praised this book (although at least one American writer shared my opinion) is a point on which I can thoroughly agree with Mr. Keller as being shameful, since a number of reviews betrayed ignorance of both psychoanalysis and Beethoven. Come, a point of cordial agreement! It would be nice to close with it.

Yours faithfully,

PETER J. PIRIE.

[Hans Keller writes:] Mr. Pirie will understand me better as time and thought go on. Meanwhile, I apologize for my parapraxis which, however, may well have been an unconscious compliment: he will be aware that I often find it difficult to acknowledge my colleagues as my colleagues.

Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum,  
Salzburg,  
Schwarzstrasse 26.  
15th December, 1958.

To the Editor of THE MUSIC REVIEW.

#### MOZART LETTERS

SIR,—On the recommendation of the Central Institute for Mozart Research, the International Foundation Mozarteum in Salzburg has decided to publish a critical and final edition of all the letters by Mozart and his family. This, the first complete edition, will be published as a supplement to the new edition of all Mozart's works. Two German collections and one English collection of the Mozart letters, published earlier, are out of print, and so a new edition has become a necessity. Some of these seven hundred or more letters have so far been known in extracts only and others have never been printed before. They are unique in the huge mass of letter collections, most captivating as human documents, entertaining or touching, and of common interest not only to music lovers. The new edition of the Mozart letters will be edited by the well-known music historian, Professor Otto Erich Deutsch, in collaboration with Dr. Wilhelm A. Bauer, both of Vienna. There will be three or, probably, four volumes of text, in one chronological order, and one volume with commentary and index.

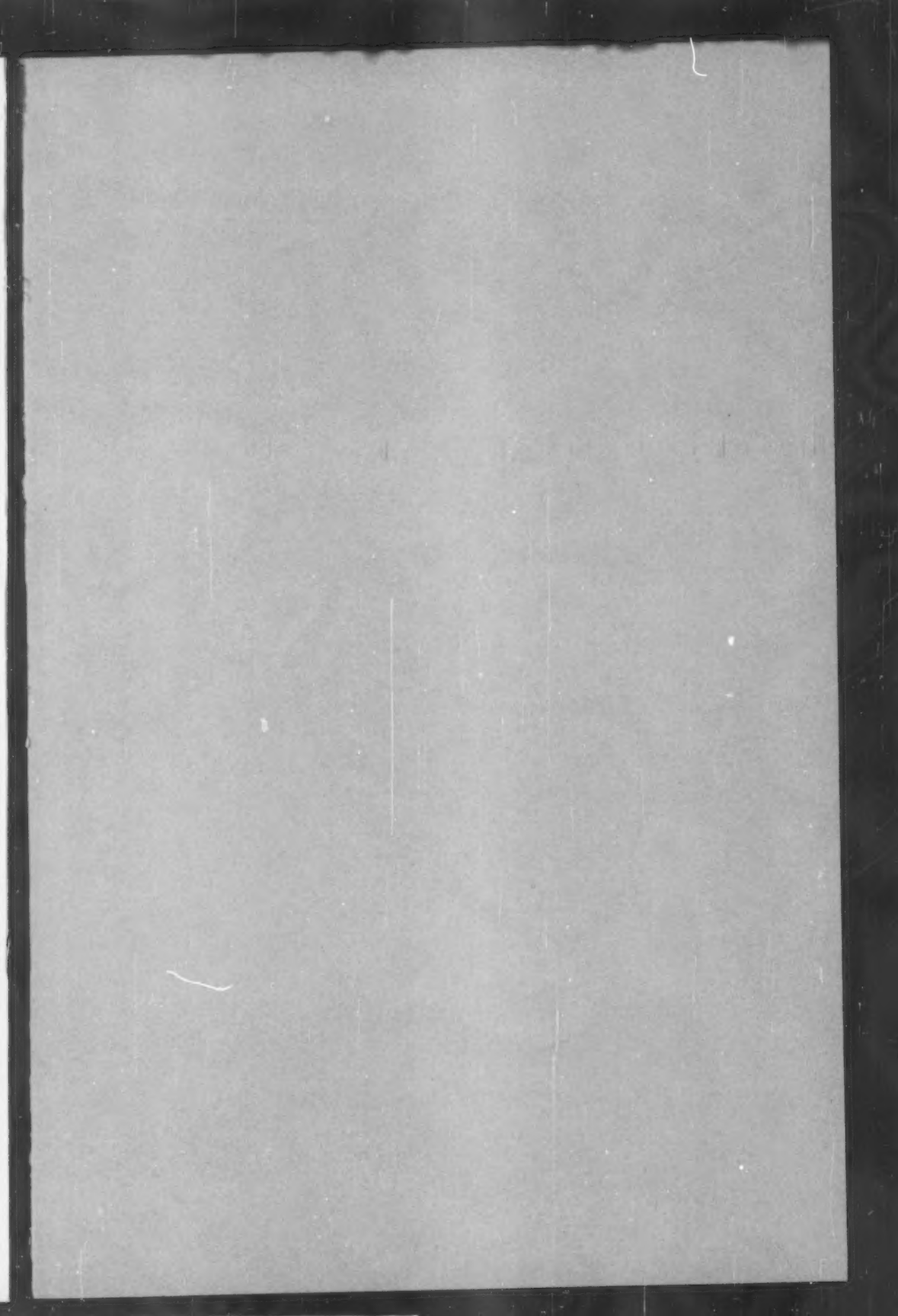
The International Foundation Mozarteum appeals to all collectors of autographs to make available any Mozart letter in their possession, published or unpublished, in original or in photograph. If the collector desires to remain anonymous, his wishes will be strictly observed. Any other information which may be of use to the editors will be very welcome and acknowledged.

Yours faithfully,

for the

International Foundation Mozarteum  
The Director of the Scientific Department:  
Prof. Dr. GEZA RECH.

The President:  
HOFRAT BRUNO HANTSCH.





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